

THE INDIAN HEROES

Contributed by various writers and edited for
the Board of Education
of the Mysore Government Economic Conference

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS work is the first outcome of a suggestion made by His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore to have a few books prepared giving in succinct form the daring deeds of some of the Military heroes of India from the earliest times to the present day. This suggestion was made at a time when the danger from the great German War was most menacing. The suggestion made by the Yuvaraja was readily taken up by the Education Board of the Economic Conference instituted by the Government of Mysore and this book was prepared and is issued under the auspices of that Board. The object of the suggestion of H. H. the Yuvaraja was to stimulate into activity the military instincts which had become dormant in the minds of the people belonging to the higher social strata in India on account of the long established peace under British supremacy, when recruitment from among such ranks was very largely needed to fight against the Germans. The German war has no doubt terminated but it cannot be safely said that all danger to the world's peace has also terminated. The appearance of the book cannot therefore be said to be too late, especially when the Government of India are themselves encouraging military service by the formation of University corps and in other ways. Besides, India is now launched on the way to Self-Government of the Dominion status, and no country can be said to govern itself efficiently unless it can also defend

itself successfully against all internal commotions and foreign aggressions. The menace of military danger to India from the North-West may be said to be as fresh as in the past with the superadded danger of the Bolsheviki of Russia overflowing into Central Asia up to the borders of India. The danger of invasion from the sea which was not of serious account in the past centuries has also to be reckoned with in these days, irrespective of all Alliances and Treaties. It is therefore believed that for India to successfully maintain her position as an honored member of the British Commonwealth, it is necessary that all efforts made to encourage the development of the military spirit among her sons should be welcomed, and it needs scarcely be said that this book is only an humble effort in that direction.

The book is not the work of a single author, but is made up of contributions from a number of writers, whose names are given on another page and the Editor takes upon himself the responsibility for all defects found in the co-ordination of the different contributions received. The book is intended to serve as a reading book for the general public as well as to serve as a text-book for the pupils of the higher classes of all educational institutions in India.

In conclusion I may add a word of praise to the Bangalore Press for their very neat execution of the work entrusted to them.

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EDITOR.

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THE INDIAN HEROES



1. Indian Expeditionary Force in Europe

(480 B.C.)

If the modern methods of historical criticism and research with their insistence on chronology be applied to Indian History, we shall find that it can only start from the times when it first becomes connected with the histories of foreign countries. We get the earliest known dates in the history of India only in connection with her contact with Persia through the invasions of Cyrus and Darius in the fifth century B.C., and with Greece through the invasion of Alexander in the third century B.C.

The earliest date in the annals of Indian heroism is accordingly furnished not from indigenous but from foreign sources. It is furnished by Herodotus whose designation as 'Father of History' receives a curious significance from the light he throws on some of the obscure chapters of Indian History. Herodotus in his "Histories" gives an account of the struggles between the Greeks and the Persians during the period from 501 to 478 B.C. Those struggles had for their immediate cause the revolt in 501 B.C. of the Greek Colonies in Ionia, the district along the western coast of Asia Minor, from the yoke of Persia imposed upon them by Cyrus in 546 B.C. after the defeat

of Croesus, king of Lydia. A common cause was made with these rebellious Ionians by the Athenians under the sense of a Pan-Hellenic patriotism. The result was that they both became the common enemies of Persia. After the Ionian revolt was subdued, the Persian arms were turned against Greece itself. It devolved upon king Xerxes to raise and organize an adequate expeditionary force which he himself led in person in 480 B.C. Herodotus has preserved a full account of this expeditionary force. It was made up of contingents contributed by no fewer than 19 subject nations of the Persian Empire and it is said to have been composed of two million six hundred thousand fighting men.

At that time a part of India was included in the Persian Empire. An account of this brief Persian period of Indian History is to be gleaned from certain inscriptions in Persia. Cyrus (558-530 B.C.), the founder of the Persian Empire, was also the founder of the Persian supremacy over India. Cyrus was followed by Cambyses (530-522 B.C.) and Cambyses by Darius (522-486 B.C.). There is an inscription of Darius belonging to about 516 B.C. at Behistun of which there are three versions, viz., those in old Persian, Susian and Babylonian. The old Persian version enumerates the *Gandharians* among the subject peoples of the Persian Empire, the Susian and Babylonian versions replace the Gandharians by *Paruparasesanna*, the inhabitants of the Paropamisus or Hindukush. Probably there was no real distinction meant between the Gandhara and the country of the Paropamisadae (the Kabul valley). In the subsequent inscriptions of Darius, however, found on his palace at Persepolis

and on his tomb at Nakshi Rostam, the lists of subject peoples enumerated include the 'Indians' in addition to the Gandharians. From this fact it may be reasonably inferred that the "Indians" were conquered at some date between 516 B.C. and the end of the reign of Darius in 486 B.C. Regarding the precise extent of the 'Indian' Province thus added by Darius to the Persian Empire, we may have some rough idea from Herodotus who tells us that the Indians were the last of all the nations on the eastern side of the world, for beyond the Punjab lay the limitless Rajaputana desert the Marushthah, stretching, as Herodotus thought, to the end of the world. It may have thus included territories on both sides of the Indus from Gandhara to its mouth, being separated from the rest of India on the east by vast deserts of sand and including the Western Punjab generally and the whole of Sind. According to Herodotus, it constituted the 20th and the most popular fiscal division of the Empire and it paid the highest annual tribute of all the '*nomes*', amounting to no less than one-third of the total revenue, which was, moreover, paid in gold.

The political subjection of this part of India thus naturally carried with it military obligations to the Empire. The Persian emperor felt himself entitled to draw upon the unique resources of his Indian satrapy in men and money in the interests of his Empire. It may be taken as a mistake, therefore, to suppose that the great world war which began in the year 1914 was the first to witness Indians fighting on the battle-fields of Europe, for as early as 480 B.C., the resources of Indian Heroism in the north western part of

India were tapped by Xerxes. Willing recruits were found to swell the ranks of the vast Persian army that was sent to crush the liberties of the Greeks and, considering the hardships of the journey in those days from the Indian frontiers to Greece, the behaviour of the Indians of those days deserves all praise. According to Herodotus, the "*Gandbarians*" bore bows of reed and short spears, while the "Indians" were clad in cotton garments and bore similar bows, and arrows tipped with iron. The use of 'short spears' by the '*Gandhamians*' probably indicates that they were best in fighting at close quarters, while the '*Indians*' as good marksmen, were utilized for long range attacks. The Indian troops joined a division in the army of Xerxes and must have marched through the bloody defiles of Thermopylae. Their fighting qualities shown there were so much valued by Mardonius, the Persian Commander, that after the retreat of Xerxes he kept them back to take part in the Boeotian campaign. [See Abbot's History of Greece, Vol. II.]

We have here the first reference to the achievements of Indian heroism in countries far outside the borders of India. In this connection we may note also the only other occasion on which Indians were invited to fight abroad. In the siege of Amida in A.D. 360 by the Sassanian king of Persia, Sapor II, "his victory was won with the aid of Indian elephants and Kushan troops under the command of their aged king Grumbates, who occupied the place of honor, and was supported by the Sakas of Sistan." [V. A. Smith's Early History of India, 3rd edition, p. 274.]

2. The Forgotten Heroes that fought Alexander the Great

(325-323 B.C.)

THE next important examples of Indian heroism are those which we come across in connection with the campaigns of Alexander the Great in India from 325 B.C. to 323 B.C. It is a mistake to suppose that the advance of Alexander in India was absolutely unopposed by the Indians. The presentation of the details of his campaigns by Greek historians naturally exhibits the Greek standpoint and lays greater stress on the success of the Macedonian arms and on the reverses of the Indian, the elaborate details of which throw into the back-ground the efforts of the Indians to stem the tide of foreign invasion and to contest every step of its progress. To judge the measure of success achieved by Alexander, we must take into consideration the after-effects of his campaigns, the permanent results produced upon the politics of the country which is alleged to have been conquered by him.

In the first place, we find that as soon as Alexander turned his back upon India, the spirit of the people showed itself in the mutiny of the local troops employed by his satrap, Philippos, who was murdered by the mutineers, even while Alexander was alive with his retreating homeward bound army still in Karmanah. This revolt was in all probability but the beginning of the movement which reached its culminating point under Chandragupta Maurya to whom belongs the credit of freeing his country from the yoke of foreign subjection. In the second place, even while the campaigns

were in progress, the policy adopted by Alexander to secure their results points to the same conclusion. We find that almost all the opposing Indian Kings that were subdued by Alexander in sanguinary battles costing him innumerable precious lives and large treasure, were reinstated in the government of their respective territories. This policy of conciliation cannot be taken to be a sign of Alexander's generosity—for, generally, politics knows of no such feelings—but was really a concession to the unconquerable national spirit which would not yield to the conqueror except on those terms. Indeed, this policy of trusting defeated peoples with the administration of their own territories was carried so far that not a single Greek official was appointed by Alexander on the eastern side of the Indus. He dared appoint only three Greek officials to such positions, namely, Philippos, Peithon, and Oxyartes, but these were all appointed as satraps of territories on the west side of the Indus. We thus see that as a corrective to the Greek accounts we must make an independent study of the quantity and quality of the Indian opposition which tried as best as it could to contest the conquering career of Alexander, and where submission was enforced or was unavoidable, the sullenness of that submission which broke into open revolt at the slightest opportunity,—the uncurbed national spirit which, within three years of Alexander's departure from India, ousted his officers, destroyed his garrisons and wiped away all traces of the Greek occupation of India. Dazzling details of Alexander's success should not therefore blind us to the spirit of the defenders which ultimately

conquered the conqueror. The essential weakness of Alexander's position in India is apparent from the fact that, when he got the news of the murder of his satrap, the utmost that he could do was to send a letter to his trusted Indian Chief, Ambhi, asking him to take his place. This weakness was also realized by the more thoughtful section of the Indians themselves, as is apparent from the story of the interview of Alexander with the Brahmin Calanus at which the Brahmin placing his foot upon one end of a piece of ox-hide of which the other ends flew up, hinted to Alexander 'that it would be proper for him to reside in the centre of his dominions and not undertake such long journeys.'

We should, therefore, separate the account of Alexander's successes from that of the resistance of the Indian princes and peoples who chose to fight the foe in defence of their liberties. The first in this illustrious roll of heroes was the tribal chief named Astes (Hasti)—"Alone among the faithless faithful only he"—who was the only exception, among his many fellow chiefs, to oppose the advance of the Macedonian Generals, Hephaistion and Perdikkas, along the valley of the Kabul towards the Indus. For full thirty days he held out in his stronghold which was then taken and destroyed. To him belongs the glory of being the first defender of his country's freedom.

The next resistance came from the liberty-loving tribes of the Kunar valley whose determination led to the personal advance of Alexander against them with a body of picked troops. These tribes chose to give Alexander battle from the

hills of their native land and such of their cities as were strongly fortified. When Alexander proceeded to attack the first city of this kind that came in his way, he found men drawn up before him in battle order. In the battle that ensued he was wounded in the shoulder by a dart which penetrated through his breast plate. His companions, Ptolemy and Leonnatos, were also wounded. Alexander then encamped near the city on the side where he thought the wall was weakest. Next day, the Macedonians attacked the outer of the two walls by which the city was encompassed and this was captured without much difficulty but at the inner walls the tribes made a bold stand. The same fierce resistance had to be overcome by Alexander in another city called Andaka. The most important of these tribes were the Aspasiens and the Assakenoi against whom Alexander personally proceeded. The Aspasiens fought two great battles with great obstinacy. That they must have fought to a man is evident from the fact that more than 40,000 prisoners were secured by Alexander together with no less than 2,30,000 oxen which served their economic and military needs.

The Assakenoi were also foemen worthy of their steel and prepared for fight with all their might. They awaited Alexander with an army of 30,000 cavalry, and more than 30,000 infantry, besides 30 elephants and "resolved to defend their country to the last extremity." Their fortress, Massaga, which was the greatest city in those parts (Sanskrit Masaka, the capital of the district Masakavati mentioned by Panini) was ideally situated in respect of natural fortifications, built

on a hill with inaccessible sides, with treacherous morasses on two sides, an impetuous deep stream on another side, while the fourth side was protected by lofty ramparts, built of bricks, stone and timber, about four miles in circumference, and girdled, besides, by deep moats. Its previous sovereign having lately died, ' his mother, Queen Cleophis, now ruled the city and the realm. An army of 38,000 infantry defended the city which was so strongly fortified by both nature and art " A part of the garrison was constituted by a body of 7,000 troops recruited from the plains of India, but even these mercenaries were infected by the national spirit. At first they yielded to temporary weakness in buying off Alexander's protection by an agreement to join his ranks, but immediately their moral nature revolted and made them, in the words of an ancient historian, " meet a glorious death which they would have disclaimed to exchange for a life with dishonour."

It is a remarkable fact that, in this desperate resistance against vastly superior numbers, the women of the tribe took an active part and they were spared by Alexander. The siege of Massaga taxed to the utmost the mental and material resources of Alexander. " On the first day, he brought the phalanx against the fortifications but was wounded in the ankle by an arrow shot from the battlements. The next day, he brought up the military engines and battered down part of the wall, but when the Macedonians attempted to force their way through the breach which had been made, the Indians repelled all their attacks with so much spirit that Alexander was obliged for that day

to draw off his forces " On the third day there was a worse fate for the Macedonians The phalanx was once more led to the assault . a bridge was thrown from an engine over to that part of the wall which had been battered down and by that gangway were led the same men who by similar expedient enabled Alexander to capture Tyre , but the bridge broke down under the great throng which was pushing forward with much haste and the Macedonians fell with it The defenders on the walls seeing what had happened began, amid loud cheering, to ply the Macedonians with stones and arrows and other missiles, while others sallying from posterns in the wall between the towers struck them at close quarters before they could extricate themselves from the confusion caused by the accident

The example of Massaga was followed by the other free towns of the neighbourhood The city of Ora did not surrender without fighting The city of Bazira stood on a very lofty eminence and was strongly fortified in every quarter and the people trusted to the strength of their position and made no proposals about surrendering. Cities like Peukelaotis, Aornos, Embolima, and Dyrta tried according to their respective strength to oppose the passage of the enemy. The capture of Aornos was a most difficult affair on account of the natural protection of that fort The mountain was washed on the southern side by the Indus which was very deep and enclosed by rugged and precipitous rocks forbidding approach from that side. On the other sides, as at Massaga, ravines, cliffs and swamps presented obstacles sufficient to daunt the bravest assailant. Alexander

prepared for a long siege at every step of which the defenders¹ opposed to the utmost

The next important opposition came from the Rajah of Abhisara and king Poros who united their forces in a common cause and mustered an army 50,000 strong on the opposite bank of the Jhelum. The young son of Poros also helped the father in his operations. Poros, a magnificent giant, 6½ feet in height, fought to the last. In the words of a Greek writer "He nobly discharged his duties throughout the battle performing the part not only of a general but also that of a gallant soldier. He did not, after the manner of Darius, the great king, abandon the field and show his men the first example of flight, but, on the contrary fought as long as he saw any Indians maintaining the contest in a united body." At length overpowered by thirst and exhaustion due to the nine different wounds he received, he was taken prisoner in a fainting condition and conducted to Alexander who asked him to state how he wished to be treated. Poros answered—"Treat me, O Alexander, as befits a king," and the wishes of this gallant adversary were respected by Alexander who had enough of political wisdom in him to restore Poros to his kingdom with some additions to profit by his friendship.

It may be noted that the defeat of the Hindus at this battle of the Hydaspes was due not so much to any lack of heroism, of fighting qualities, or military organization, on their part, as to the hostility of nature, the unfavourable weather conditions that unexpectedly supervened when the battle was about to begin. Indeed, Alexander himself paid

the following compliment to the martial spirit and form of the Hindu soldiers when he saw them in battle-array: "I see at last a danger that matches my courage. It is at once with wild beasts and *men of uncommon mettle* that the contest now lies" (Curtius). But the inclemency of the weather pursued the Hindus from the beginning, like the malice of an evil Fate. On the eve of the battle, there was a fearful storm and rain, and the sky was overcast with dense clouds which made it impossible for the men to see one another, while the din of the soldier's march was drowned in the roar of the tempest. Thus it was possible for Alexander's army to effect, unperceived and unopposed, the passage of the great river of the Hydaspes which had exercised the mind of Alexander for nearly six or seven weeks. Thus one of the strongest of the defences of Poros's position failed him in the hour of need! To add to this, the heavy downpour of rain "had rendered the ground slippery and unfit for horses to ride over, while the chariots kept sticking in the muddy sloughs formed by the rain and proved almost immoveable from their great weight." "The charioteers were hurled from their seats when the chariots, in rushing into action, jolted over broken and slippery ground." Then, again, the infantry "were unable to use even their arrows. These weapons were so long and heavy that the archers could not readily adjust them on the string, unless by first resting their bow upon the ground. Then, as the ground was slippery and hindered their efforts, the enemy had time to charge them before they could deliver their blows." Thus, even before the war, the war of the elements had

materially reduced the efficiency of each of the several members of the Hindu army

It is interesting to note the composition and equipment of the Hindu armies of the period. The main army of Poros comprised 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 300 chariots. The chariots were drawn by four horses and carried six men of whom two were shield-bearers, two archers posted on each side of the chariot and the other two, charioteers, as well as men-at-arms, for, when the fighting was at close quarters, they dropped the reins and hurled dart after dart against the enemy (Curtius). The infantry were all armed with a broad and heavy two-handed sword and a long buckler of undressed ox-hide. In addition to these arms, each man carried either javelins or a bow which was of equal length with the man who bore it. "Thus they rest upon the ground and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and *there is nothing which can resist the Indian archer's shot, neither shield nor breast plate nor any stronger defence if such there be.*" (Arrian's *Indika*.) The Indian horsemen carried two javelins and a bucklet.

The Indian resistance reached its high water-mark in Poros whose defeat must have had a depressing effect on the country. Minor opposition was offered by the Glaussai, and Poros II. At this time messengers came to Alexander reporting that his old enemy, the Assakenoi, had slain their Governor and revolted—a fact which shows that the spirit of the people had not been completely curbed. Alexander

had to depute two of his best generals to quell the insurrection. Next, he had to meet the more serious opposition of the independent tribes like the Malloi, the Oxydrakai, the Katharoi, the Adraistai etc. The Katharoi enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war and the same war-like spirit characterized the Oxydrakai, and the Malloi. Alexander first compelled the capitulation of one of their strongholds, Pimprama, and then proceeded to attack Sangala which the Katharoi and the allied tribes had selected as their main stronghold. The tribes protected their camp, lying under the shelter of a low hill, by a triple row of waggons and offered a determined resistance. The strength of this allied army must have been considerable, considering that nearly 17,000 were slaughtered, and more than 70,000 captured, together with 300 waggons and 500 horsemen.

In the course of his return journey, the organized opposition of the confederacy of these autonomous peoples was very serious. In order to frustrate their plans, and to attack before they had settled their lines of action, Alexander had to accelerate his voyage on the Indus. The strength of the allied forces comprised 90,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and from 700 to 900 chariots. The Malloi were surprised while working in the fields unarmed, but they put up a very good fight in their fortified towns which were captured by Alexander with great difficulty and personal heroism. The resistance of the other tribes collapsed with the rout of the Malloi. Two other tribes also resisted, namely, the Siboi and the Agalassoï. The latter mustered a force of 40,000 foot and 3,000

horse One of their towns behaved most heroically Its inhabitants numbering about 20,000 cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames rather than yield themselves up as prisoners Truly, the heroism of Rajput annals had been anticipated in another part of India in much earlier times! There were also two towns of the Mallor which deserve to be remembered for the fierceness and stubbornness of the resistance they offered to Alexander. One of these was a certain city of the 'Brahmins' (Brachmans) who recognized the duty of leaving their religious pursuits in the interests of their political independence which assured them those pursuits, and they accordingly courted death rather than dishonour "About 5,000 in all were killed, and, as they were men of spirit, very few were taken prisoners" The other was the most strongly fortified town in the neighbourhood, fortified not merely by physical defences but also by the determined spirit of its inhabitants. Alexander personally scaled its walls with three of his companions, Peukestos, Leonnatos and Abreas. Abreas fell down dead and Alexander was wounded in the breast by a barbed arrow and fell fainting He was saved from death by Leonnatos and the Macedonian troops.

The tale of the Indian resistance is not yet complete. The defence of king Mousikanos contributes a glorious page to the history of Indian heroism He ruled over a highly cultured and civilized people remarkable for their phenomenal longevity which was the result of good health secured by temperance in diet. They kept no slaves, had a national dinner at which the food served was the produce of the chase and

devoted themselves to the study of medicine to the exclusion of other sciences as being less useful to humanity. Being out-mancœuvred by Alexander the king offered submission, but, acting under the advice of his Brahmin counsellors, he again revolted. All his resisting towns were captured by Alexander who operated against them in person. Ultimately the king was captured along with his Brahmin counsellors who advised the fight for freedom.

Mousikanos was followed by another chief named Oxykanos. Inspired by the same spirit of resistance, all his cities made a heroic stand. The Brahmuns as usual, played a most prominent part in the national defence.

We have thus seen what measure of opposition Alexander had to encounter in India and the sources of that opposition in both kingdoms, as well as kingless, self-governing states. That these states, regal, as well as non-regal, were efficiently governed is apparent from the way in which they faced a national peril. If the test of the efficiency of a Government is its power to cope with extraordinary situations and exceptional circumstances such as those created by a war or a foreign invasion, then that test must have been amply satisfied by the Indian States which were called upon to face the invasion of Alexander. As proofs of their military capacities and capabilities, we must consider the quantity and composition of the actual fighting forces which they could gather for active service on the fields. As we have already seen, some of the Punjab tribes, small as they were in point of their numbers, show an astonishing record of figures as to their recruitment for the armies with which they had to meet

a foreign foe. The Assakenoi (Sanskrit, Asvakas) had an army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry, and 30 elephants, besides 7,000 mercenary troops. The army of the Aspasians similarly should have been quite large, when it could yield 40,000 as prisoners alone. The army of Poros comprised 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 200 elephants. The Agalassoi mustered a force of 40,000 foot, and 3,000 horse. The combined forces of the confederacy of the autonomous peoples comprised 90,000 fully equipped infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and from 700 to 900 chariots. The Malloi alone defended the passage of a river with 50,000 men. The army of the Sabaroi (called by Arrian *Sambastoi* or *Abasthanoi* from the Sanskrit word *Avasthana* or place of abode) comprised 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots (Curtius). In the campaigns of the lower Indus, the number of killed alone amounted to 80,000. Thus the sizes of these various armies must have been very large in proportion to the strength of the total population of the state concerned and supply a remarkable proof as much of the efficiency of their respective administrations as of the patriotism and public spirit of the peoples concerned which, without resort to any system of conscription, could be depended upon for putting forth the utmost exertions in the defence of the liberties of their fatherland.

In conclusion, it may be noted that though these heroic chiefs and peoples did not succeed in overcoming the opposition of Alexander, owing chiefly to his superior military organization, we ought to be more concerned with the spirit of their actions than their results. It may be further noted

that it was in the unextinguished heroism of these self-governing peoples of the Punjab that Chandragupta Maurya found the powerful lever by means of which, a few years later, he overturned the Greek domination of India, on the one hand, and the unrighteous Nanda Empire of Magadha on the other. The Punjab has been through the ages the prolific mother of heroic sons !

3. Chandragupta Maurya.

(321—298 B.C.)

CHANDRAGUPTA Maurya, whom Vincent Smith regards as one of the greatest kings in all history, owed that proud position not to mere accident of birth in a royal family, but to his own natural endowments and spirit of genuine heroism. Plutarch records how Chandragupta, when a mere youth, had a sight of Alexander when that mighty Macedonian was sweeping like a hurricane through the territories of the Punjab and Sind. There he was the silent eye-witness of the superior military strategy and organization whereby the Greek was getting the better of the Indian in actual battles. He was also an eye-witness of the magnificent moral assets his country possessed in the fierce and obstinate resistance offered to Alexander by the patriotic republican peoples of the Punjab, and had even then a clear vision of its rich potentialities and possibilities inviting their prompt exploitation. Young Chandragupta, however, allowed the storm to blow over. He rightly thought that the invasion of Alexander was like a passing cloud that could not, from the

nature of the case, produce any permanent effect. Instead of seeking his fortunes in his native country, like a Poros or an Ambhi, under an alien power which had crushed the liberties of his fatherland, Chandragupta was evidently driven by a sense of patriotism to carve out a career for himself in the metropolis of the Magadhan Empire at distant Pataliputra. But a higher and nobler destiny was reserved for him than merely playing the second fiddle at the royal court. In some way or other, probably by his proud bearing, young Chandragupta drew upon his head the wrath of the then reigning monarch of Magadha, Mahapadma Nanda, who punished him with immediate exile. Thus banished from Magadha, he retraced his steps homewards to the Punjab, but his heart and soul knew no rest. It was a painful sight for him to find the humiliation which his own motherland suffered at the hands of the foreign invader, deprived of independence and forced to accept Greek vassalage. The old order of things established by Alexander was, however, undergoing a change which the genius of Chandragupta, roused by his hatred of foreign yoke, did not fail to utilize to the fullest advantage in furtherance of the cause of national independence.

The main purpose of Alexander's invasion of India was the permanent annexation of the conquered territories and the addition of an Indian satrapy or province to his vast empire. With that end in view, satraps were appointed by Alexander who administered the conquered provinces, his Indian colonies. Philippos was appointed satrap of the countries west of the Indus and above the confluence of the combined

Punjab rivers with the Indus, with adequate strength to form a military garrison. To Peithon was given the satrapy of the Indus delta, *i.e.*, the country to the south of the territory entrusted to Philippos. A policy of reconciliation was also followed as a necessity by associating the more powerful of Indian kings with the government of conquered territories. Poros was formally appointed king of all the subdued country between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, and Ambhi, king of Taxila, was confirmed in his sovereignty of the country between the Hydaspes and the Indus.

The Macedonian Colonies, however, thus planted by Alexander did not take root in Indian soil. As soon as the redoubtable personality of Alexander was withdrawn from the scene, the spirit of opposition to foreign subjection made itself manifest and also demonstrated the essential weakness of the Greek position in India when there was no longer the strong hand of Alexander to support or defend it. The assassination of Philippos, the satrap, almost the moment Alexander turned his back upon India, was the first blow struck at foreign rule by the Indians. Against this, the only step that Alexander could take was to send a despatch by which the administration of the satrapy of Philippos was given over to Ambhi, king of Taxila. But the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. sounded the death-knell of the Macedonian power in India. Practically all effective control was lost over the conquered countries east of the Indus, when in the second partition of the Empire in 321 B.C., Antipater in a way recognised the independence of India by going through the mere form of confirming the sovereignty

of Poros and Ambhi in the Indus valley and the Punjab. At the same time towards the south, Peithon, whom Alexander had appointed satrap of the Indus delta, was obliged to retire to the west of the Indus. To add to this followed the treacherous murder of Poros by Eudemos, thereby terribly outraging the national sentiment, and his immediate withdrawal from his charge to succour Eumenes in his war against Antigonos. Eudemos took with him 3,000 foot, 500 horse, and 125 elephants, and thus denuded the province of the main strength of the force by which it was held in subjection. His departure, accordingly, gave the signal for a general rising of the Indians. The long wished-for opportunity indeed presented itself to Chandragupta who at once stepped into the fore-front and assumed command of this revolt against the foreigners. During his exile he had been collecting and organizing a formidable force of the free and fierce highlanders of the North-western frontier. With the help of this force he now attacked the Macedonian garrison, overthrew the Greek Government and finally installed himself in the sovereignty of the Punjab and of the lower valley of the Indus. Chandragupta himself, according to Justin, fought "mounted on an elephant of great size and strength" in the van. Thus Chandragupta first made himself master of North-western India, and with his position thus strengthened, he next attempted the revolution in Magadha.

There the deep and widespread unpopularity of the then Nanda King of Magadha made matters smooth for Chandragupta, and offered him an assured prospect of success. Chan-

dragupta, knowing as he did, the weak points of Magadhan power, without giving himself any rest or respite after his recent victory in the Punjab, hastened towards Magadha to take advantage of the position of affairs there. In the expedition that he led against Magadha, the principal part was of course played by his allies of the Punjab who recently had brought victory to his arms. As Rhys Davids points out, "It was from the Punjab that he, favoured by the disorder resulting from Alexander's invasions, recruited the nucleus of the force with which he besieged and conquered Dhana Nanda." According to *Mudrarakshasa*, Chandragupta's allies of the Punjab included such peoples as the Sakas, Yavanas, Kiratas, Kambojas, Persians, Valhikas, etc. According to the tradition preserved in some of the Pali and Jaina works, the first attempt against Magadha of Chandragupta and Chanakya,—the great sage and politician who had befriended Chandragupta,—proved abortive. The failure is said to have been due to a mistaken military strategy which directed attack on the capital before the outlying regions or suburbs were conquered. The wide-spread excitement and interest created by his expedition will be evident from the following story recorded in the *Mahavansatika*. "In one of these villages a woman (by whose hearth Chandragupta had taken refuge after the failure of his first attack) baked chapati and gave it to her child. He, leaving the edges away, asked for another cake. Then she said: 'This boy's conduct is like Chandragupta's attack on the kingdom'. The boy said: 'Why, mother, what am I doing, and what has Chandragupta done?' 'Thou,

my dear,' said she, 'throwing away the outside of the cake, eatest the middle' So Chandragupta, in his ambition to be a monarch, without beginning from the frontiers, and taking the towns in order as he passed, has invaded the heart of the country, and his army is surrounded and destroyed *That was his folly*"

The following is another version of the story recorded in the Jaina work, Sthavirabali Charita "At evening they reached a village and going about in quest of food they came to the hut of a poor old woman who had just prepared the supper for her children One of them greedily put his finger right in the middle of the dish, and, being burnt, began to cry She railed at him for being as big a fool as Chanakya Hearing himself alluded to in such terms, Chanakya entered the house and asked the woman what she had just said. The woman replied that the child had burnt his finger because he would eat from the middle of the dish instead of from the outer part which was cool. In a similar way Chanakya had been defeated because he had not secured the surrounding country before attacking the stronghold of the enemy "

A second and more formidable attempt was, however, made with the aid of Chanakya, which was attended with immediate success. The king of Magadha, the old enemy of Chandragupta, was dethroned, and slain, and every member of the royal family who might prove a source of future trouble was similarly dispatched.

The success of the expedition against Magadha at once made Chandragupta the undisputed master of Northern

India, holding under his subjection the Punjab and the provinces along the Indus down to its mouth, together with the regions of the Ganges. The course of his conquests ran so smooth that he might well exclaim in the famous words of Julius Cæsar, "Veni, Vidi, Vici." His success will, however, appear to be more creditable when we take into account the fact that the then fighting strength of Magadha which was ranged against him was almost invincible, being, of course, the outcome of the conquests, achieved by the great kings of Magadha, like Bimbisara, and Ajatasatru. Even the weak and unpopular Nanda king, who was dethroned by Chandragupta, commanded a force which, according to Plutarch, comprised 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 elephants, though somewhat smaller figures are given by other Greek writers. By his conquest of Magadha, Chandragupta came into the rich inheritance of a vast army and an efficient military organization with the aid of which were effected the consolidation of the different parts of his mighty empire and the enforcement of his authority everywhere within its limits. This huge military legacy was still further expanded until he built up a force of 300,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants, 600,000 infantry, and quite a number of war chariots.

While Chandragupta was thus laying broad and deep the foundations of his newly conquered empire, the successors of Alexander were too much engrossed with their internecine wars to think of disturbing his work. Their mutual differences were, however, composed within a brief period and there emerged out of the struggle two rivals contending

for mastery in Asia, *viz* , Antigonos and Seleukos, afterwards called Nikator or conqueror. For a time Antigonos got the upper-hand and Selenkos was driven into exile, but from 312 B C. fortune began to favour Seleukos when he achieved conquest of Babvlon, and a few years later found himself in a position which justified his assumption of the royal title. As the eastern portion of his empire marched with the north-western portions of Chandragupta's empire which originally belonged to Greek India, his first desire naturally was to overthrow the usurpation and reassert the power of Greek arms. Thus fired by ambition, Seleukos crossed the Indus in 305 B C. and attempted to emulate the exploits of Alexander, taking little account of the great changes that had come over Indian politics since Alexander's invasion. Alexander found in India a number of small kingdoms and republics whose mutual jealousies had more than counter-balanced the remarkable bravery of their forces and enabled him to attack and defeat them one by one. Seleukos, on the other hand, found in the consolidated and organized empire of Chandragupta a puissant political unit, whose collective strength was not impaired by the centrifugal, disintegrating forces of a petty parochialism. A far different fate accordingly awaited the enterprise of Seleukos. It seems that he was allowed to cross the Indus without the opposition that was so stoutly offered to the passage of his predecessor, Alexander, and, indeed, the details of the campaign are so imperfectly known that we can neither determine how far the invading army advanced into the Gangetic valley, nor know for certain whether the hostile armies met in actual conflict and an

engagement really took place. It may, however, be safely conjectured that the sight of the vast and formidable host brought into the field by his opponent led the invader to think that discretion would be the better part of valour and even peace at any price would be much more desirable than the infamy of defeat. As a matter of fact, Seleukos anticipated all hostilities by concluding a humiliating treaty which not only barred the way to the advance of Greek power beyond the Indus but also strengthened the enemy's position. For Seleukos, besides resigning his claims to the Greek conquests beyond the Indus, was compelled to cede to the Indian king considerable districts extending westward from that river to the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush. These included not only a large part of Ariana but also the Satrapies of the Paropanisadaï, Aria, and Arachosia, the capitals of which were respectively the cities where stand modern Kabul, Herat and Kandahar. There was also included in the cession a part of the satrapy of Gedrosia. In return for these territories Chandragupta had to make a formal present of 500 elephants and the whole compact was cemented by a matrimonial alliance. That Seleukos highly appreciated the present of elephants is shown by the fact that he commemorated the event on his coins. These represent the sovereign in a chariot drawn by elephants. The date of this treaty may be taken to be 303 B.C.

By virtue of this treaty the empire of Chandragupta extended beyond the limits of India. As Mr. Vincent A. Smith rightly points out, "The range of the Hindu Kush mountains known to the Greeks as the Paropanisos or Indian Caucasus,

in this way became the frontier between Chandragupta's provinces of Herat and Kabul on the south, and the Seleukidan province of Bactria on the north. The first Indian emperor, more than 2,000 years ago, thus entered into possession of that 'Scientific frontier' sighed for in vain by his English successors, and never held in its entirety even by the Moghal monarchs of the 16th and 17th centuries."

It was thus the personal heroism of Chandragupta coupled with his genius for organization, that made him attain the proud position of being the first historical paramount Sovereign of India. He ascended the throne at an early age and in as much as he reigned only for 24 years, his administration must have ended before he was 50 years of age. In this brief space of time he did much. The provinces of the Ganges were freed from the yoke of the immoral dominion of the Nanda usurpation; and for the first time the provinces of the Indus and the Ganges joined hands under the yoke of one unified empire that controlled a territory vaster than that of British India. It may be added that his triumphs of peace were no less than those of war. His empire was so thoroughly organized and firmly established under a well thought-out scheme of civil and military administration that it passed peacefully into the hands of his son and his grandson, while its international status was recognised abroad by the potentates of the Hellenistic world courting his alliance. There was no further attempt from any of the Greek princes to renew the aggressions of Alexander and Seleukos upon a defenceless India, for they were more eager to maintain friendly, diplomatic, and

commercial relations with her rulers for three generations.

[Authorities.—V. Smith's *Early History of India* :

Rhys David's *Buddhist India*

McCrindle's *Alexander and his campaigns*].

4 Pushyamitra and Vasumitra.

(185—149 B.C.)

VASUMITRA was the youthful son of Agnimitra who as Crown-prince of the Sunga emperor of Magadha named Pushyamitra, was appointed by him as Viceroy of the western provinces of the empire extending to the Narmada. The reign of Pushyamitra is associated with the second and last attempt made by a European General to conquer India by land. Menander, a relative of the Bactrian monarch, Eukratides, and king of Kabul and the Punjab, formed an ambitious design of emulating the exploits of Alexander and sought to give effect to it by advancing with a formidable force into the interior of India. The memory of this sensational foreign invasion of India is preserved in some of the Sanskrit works of the times. At first the invader's career ran a smooth course. He annexed the Indus delta, the peninsula of Surashtra (Kathiawar) and some other territories of the western coast, occupied Mathura on the Jumna, besieged Madhyamika (near Chitor) in Rajputana, invaded Saketam in southern Oudh; and, lastly, threatened Pataliputra, the capital of the empire. The following statement, for instance, is to be found in the Gargi Samhita, a work ascribed by Max Muller to the second or third century after

Christ, "That when the vicious valiant Greeks after reducing Saketa (Oudh), the Panchala country (probably the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges) and Mathura, will reach Kusmadhwaja, that is, the royal residence of Pataliputra, and that then all provinces will be in disorder" The sieges of Saketam and Madhyamika by the Yavanas are also referred to by the grammarian Patanjali in terms which necessarily imply that those events occurred during the life time of the grammarian The Yavanas were however beaten back after a severe struggle In this sacred work of repelling the foreign invader, the old king was materially assisted by his worthy Crown Prince, Agnimitra, and his still worthier grandson, Vasumitra The significance of this remarkable victory, hardly less momentous than that of Pushyamitra's noble predecessor, Chandragupta, who established the Mauryan empire against all external and internal attack, was celebrated in accordance with the injunctions of orthodox Hinduism of which the emperor was the chosen champion of the times. After probably the lapse of centuries the antique rite of horse sacrifice was revived once again by a king who was able to assert by the might of his arms the proud position of being the king of kings. The chief ceremony in connection with the Asvamedha was to let loose a young war horse chosen for his auspicious colour and marks to wander for a year. The king or his representative had to follow the horse with an army ready to fight any hostile forces which dared stop the passage of the sacrificial animal. The success of the sacrifice thus depended upon the victory of the challenging

army that guaranteed the unopposed career of the animal. The kings of the countries through which the horse passed were bound either to fight or to submit. The submission was expressed by all the vanquished kings following in the train of the horse and assisting in his further progress. After a year's unopposed career the horse accompanied by the subject kings was brought back in triumph, then yoked to a golden car with three other horses, and after elaborate ceremonies, sacrificed.

The command of the guard attendant on the consecrated steed liberated by Pushyamitra is said to have been entrusted to his young grandson Vasumitra whose exploits in that connection have become the subject matter of Kalidasa's famous play called *Malavikāgnimitra*. Kalidasa represents Pushyamitra as sending the following message to his son the Crown prince Agnimitra

"Be it known unto thee that I, having been consecrated for the Rajasuya sacrifice, let loose, free from all check or curb, a horse which was to be brought back after a year, appointing Vasumitra as its defender, girt with a guard of a hundred Rajputs. This very horse wandering on the right (or "South") bank of the Sindhu was claimed by a cavalry squadron of the Yavanas. Then there was a fierce struggle between the two forces. Then Vasumitra, the mighty bowman, having overcome his foes, rescued by force my excellent horse, which they were endeavouring to carry off. Accordingly I will now sacrifice, having had my horse brought back to me by my grandson, even as Ansumat brought back the horse to Sagara."

Thus the exploits of Pushyamitra and of his son and grandson demonstrate how Hindu heroism was able to check the repeated attempts made by Europeans from Alexander the Great downwards to conquer India. Against the names of Alexander, Seleukos and Menander stand the honoured names of Poros and Chandragupta Maurya, Pushyamitra and Vasumitra, who successfully defended the liberties of the motherland and vindicated the traditions of Hindu heroism as embodied in some of the epic personalities like Bhima or Arjuna.

5. Samudragupta.

(330—375 A.D.)

THE Gupta empire of India contributes one of the most glorious pages in the history of Indian heroism. The towering personality of the period is that of Samudragupta, 330—375 A.D. From the very moment of his accession to the throne, Samudragupta was fired by the genuine orthodox Kshatriya ideal of making himself the paramount sovereign and overlord in India and enforcing the homage of the lesser kings. He has been justly styled as the Indian Napoleon, who deliberately embarked upon a career of an extensive aggression or *dag-vijaya* which his indomitable personal heroism brought to a most triumphant conclusion. Fortunately, we are in no want of evidence regarding all his heroic exploits and achievements, an account of which he himself caused to be engraved on one of the very stone pillars which was set up six centuries before by one of his hardly less illustrious predecessors, Asoka, though for purposes diametrically opposed to those of

Samudragupta. The account is in the form of a panegyric composed by the emperor's poet laureate named Harisena in the finished Sanskrit language of the period. The story of his heroism is best told in the words of the hero himself which we select from the text of the inscription as published by Fleet.

The inscription first describes Samudragupta as "Skilful in engaging in hundred battles of various kinds, whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm; whose most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds caused by the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows, *vaitastikas* and many other weapons'

Next, the inscription refers to the various kings of the region of the south who were first captured and then liberated. These were Mahendra, king of Kosala (in the valley of the Mahanadi), Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara (one of the chiefs of the forest countries which still retain their ancient wildness and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces), advancing southwards by the east coast, Mahendra of Pishtapura (the ancient capital of Kalinga, now Pithapuram in the Godavary district, together with the hill forts of Mahendragiri and Kottura in Ganjam district the chief of which, Swamidatta by name, was also subdued); Mantaraja of Kerala (Kolleru or Colair lake); Hastivarman of Vengi (between the Krishna and the Godavary rivers); Vishnugopa of Kanchi; Ugrasena of Palakka (a place in the Nellore district or Palghat); and

Nilaraja of Avamukta.

The career of the king then turns towards the west where are subdued the chiefs named Kubera of Devarashtra in the modern Maratha country, and king Damana of Erandapalla or Khandesh. All these were the chiefs of the south or Dakshinapatha which was distinguished in those days from the Uttarapatha or Aryavarta by the dividing line of the Vindhya range.

His conquering career through the south must have been preceded by an equally victorious campaign conducted against the powers that were nearest him, the kings of the Gangetic plain or Aryavarta as named in the inscription. Whereas the kings of the south were merely captured and liberated on condition, of course, that they would acknowledge and submit to Samudragupta's suzerainty, the kings of the north are mentioned in the inscription to have been 'violently exterminated', implying the complete annexation of their territories. There was no respect in him for the independence of small states and weak peoples as was in Asoka. Among the northern kings thus subdued are named the following -- Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman. Of these nine names, only one has been recognised with absolute certainty, *viz.*, that of Ganapatinaga whose capital was at Padmavati or Narvar, a famous city which still exists in the territories of the Maharaja Sindia. Along with these nine kings, there were many other unnamed kings subdued, together with "all the kings of the various countries" who "became his servants."

The circle of his conquests included also many frontier states which tendered their submission by "giving all kinds of taxes and obeying his orders and coming to perform obeisance." The frontier kings (Pratyanta Nripati) included those of Samatata, Davaka, Kamarupa, Nepala, Kartripura and other countries. Samatata corresponds to the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. Kamarupa corresponds to Assam. Davaka corresponds to the districts of Bogra, Dinajpore and Rajshahi, the kingdom of Kartripura probably corresponds to Kumaun, Almora, Gharwal and Kangra.

The same submission to his imperial suzerainty was enforced upon some of the republican peoples of the Punjab, eastern Rajputana and Malwa, *viz.*, Malavas, Arjunayanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas, and Kharaparikas.

Thus the epigraphic panegyric divides the circle of Samudragupta's unexampled conquests into four parts, *viz.*, that directed against eleven kings of the south; that against nine named kings of Aryavarta, besides many others not specified; the chiefs of the wild forest tribes, and the rulers of the frontier kingdoms and republics. As a result of all these conquests, Samudragupta "had no antagonist of equal power in the world." While his empire comprised practically the whole of the northern India from Hugli on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west and from the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south, the range of his alliances, the sphere of his influence, were far more extensive than that of his actual jurisdiction. There was

indeed a variety of political relations existing between the empire and its neighbouring territories, ranging from complete incorporation to different kinds of subordinate alliance and vassalage. The master of such an extensive empire could not but enhance in a great degree the international status and prestige of India and it is not at all surprising to find his alliance being courted by the Kushan kings of Gandhara and Kabul and the greater sovereign of the same race who ruled on the banks of the Oxus, on the one hand, as well as by the kings of Ceylon and other islands on the other. Thus this Indian Napoleon conquered nearly all India and placed it under his direct suzerainty, while his alliances or the sphere of his influence extended over a much larger area, from the Oxus to Ceylon. The inscription, indeed, mentions among the peoples who submitted to him not merely those of Simhala but also "all other dwellers in islands", implying thereby all the neighbouring islands of the Indian ocean. Among other peoples who rendered him homage are also mentioned Daivaputras, Shahis, Shahanushahis, Sakas and Marundas.

On the complete execution of his colossal scheme of conquests which involved no less than two to three thousand miles of marching through difficult country and must have occupied about two years at least, Samudragupta naturally thought of celebrating his unbroken victories and declaring the universality of his dominion by performing the ancient ceremony of the horse sacrifice which no other king had been entitled to perform since the days of Pushyamiitra. The ceremony was duly celebrated on a fitting scale

accompanied by lavish largesses to Brahmans, comprising, it is said, millions of coins and gold pieces. A few specimens have been found of the gold medals struck specially on this occasion, bearing a suitable legend and the figure of the doomed horse standing before the altar.

6. Skandagupta.

(455—480 A.D.)

SKANDAGUPTA is the second gift of the Gupta empire to the roll of Indian heroes. The momentum that was imparted to the expansion of the Gupta empire by the military achievements and administrative efficiency of Samudragupta and his worthy son, Chandragupta II Vikramaditya,* whose conquest of Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar together with the territories of the foreign satrapal dynasty in western India rounded off the territories of the Gupta empire and brought it into direct touch with the commerce of the west, spent itself during the time of the third king, Kumaragupta I, under whom the empire suffered severely from the irruptions of the Hun hordes who, passing through the north-western frontiers, spread in a destructive flood all over northern India. The Empire also became involved in serious distress by a war with a rich and powerful nation named the Pushyamitras. The Imperial armies were defeated and the shock of military disaster had seriously endangered the stability of the dynasty which was tottering to its fall, when the calamity was averted by the opportune

* His martial prowess and personal heroism are symbolised on his coins which depict him as engaged in successful combat with a lion.

appearance, on the stage of the history of the dynasty, of the crown prince, Skandagupta, whose singular ability and energy were able to restore the fortunes of his family by encompassing the overthrow of the enemy. A tiny little detail recorded by the contemporary documents shows clearly the extreme severity of the struggle by which the ruin of a great house was averted for the time being : we are told that the heir-apparent while risking his very life " to restore the fallen fortunes of his family, spent a whole night on a couch that was the bare earth ! " When Skandagupta ascended the throne in 455 A. D. it was by no means plain sailing for him in a sea of troubles. The Pushyamitra danger had been laid to rest, but it was followed by a more formidable one in the repeated irruptions of the savage Huns who carried devastation over the smiling plains and crowded cities of India. It was coming to be a supreme trial for him, on the result of which depended the destinies of his country. Skandagupta, however, rose equal to the occasion and to the full height of his great responsibilities and emerged out of the trial as a triumphant hero by inflicting upon the barbarians a defeat so decisive that the motherland was saved for the time. Indeed his victory was so conclusive that the fame of it " even his enemies in the country of the Mlechchhas, with their pride broken down to the root, announced with the words : ' Verily the victory has been achieved by him ' . " One of the inscriptions proceeds :—" Having conquered his enemies by the strength of his arm and established again the ruined fortunes of his lineage and crying ' the victory has been achieved ' , he betook himself to his mother whose

eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Krishna when he had slain his enemies betook himself to his mother Devaki " Having thus discharged his duty towards his living parent, Skandagupta wanted to discharge it towards his dead father whose religious merit he wanted to increase by the erection of a pillar of victory surmounted by an image of the God Sarangin (Vishnu) and inscribed with an account of the delivery of his country from barbarian tyranny through the protection of the gods

7. Yasodharman.

THE Indian heroism of the period centred in two other remarkable personalities, *viz.*, the Gupta emperor, Narasimha Gupta Baladitya, and Yasodharman, a king of central India. During the reign of these two kings, a section of the Huns, known as the white Huns of the Oxus valley, poured into India in great numbers, overwhelmed the kingdom of Gandhara or Peshawar and, starting from that base, penetrated even into the heart of the Gangetic provinces and threatened the stability of the Gupta empire. The leaders in this new invasion of India were the two chieftains, father and son. Toramana, and Mihirakula, (the Attila of India) whose intolerable tyrannies at last led to an intense awakening of the Indian national spirit which found its exponents in the two personalities mentioned above. A regular confederacy of Indian kings was formed under the nominal leadership of the Gupta emperor Baladitya, but the most active part was played by one of his so-called vassal kings, Yasodharman. The exploits of Yasodharman

are described on two columns of victory erected by him to commemorate the delivery of his country from barbarian tyranny. In one of the inscriptions it is stated that the king's "prowess was displayed by invading the whole country which the command of the chiefs of the Huns that established itself on the tiaras of many kings failed to penetrate" This only indicates that the power of Yasodharman was strong enough to keep the Huns at a distance from his own dominions. Later on, however, the decisive victory achieved against the Huns is indicated in an inscription in the following words. "He to whose feet respect was paid with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head by even that famous King Mihirakula whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of his arm in the act of compelling obeisance" The upshot of the defeat of the Huns was that Mihirakula was taken prisoner and would have suffered the extreme penalty which he so richly deserved but for the generosity of the emperor Baladitya who spared his life and sent him back to his home in the north with all honours, which generosity, however, was afterwards ruthlessly abused. But the heroism of Yasodharman was not confined only to the overthrow of an alien and barbarous tyranny, for it seems that the extent of his dominions, all self-acquired, included lands which even the Guptas and Hunas could not subdue, and extended practically from the Brahmaputra in the east to the western ocean, and from the Himalayas to Mount Mahendra in the Travancore ghats. The inscription refers to his exploits in the following words :

“He who spurning the confinement of the boundaries of his own house enjoys those countries thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong armed heroes and having their kings assaulted by his prowess, which were not even enjoyed by the lords of the Guptas ” “ He before whose feet Chieftains having their arrogance removed by the strength of his arm bowed down from the neighbourhood of the river Lauhitya up to the mountain Mahendra, and from the Himalayas up to the western ocean ”

Thus Yasodharman was one of the noblest defenders of Indian freedom against the tyranny of the Hunas, just as Chandragupta was against the Greek usurpation

8. Harsha.

(606—547 A.D.)

HARSHA is one of those great kings in ancient India in whom was embodied and exemplified the essential indigenous political ideal of paramount sovereignty being established all over India. As in the case of his illustrious predecessors realizing that ideal, the military exploits and achievements which enabled him to attain the proud position of being the king of kings, are all to be traced to his invincible personal heroism. Even when he was a mere lad of 15 years of age he had opportunities of showing his mettle. The founder of his house was a petty local king of Thanesar, Prabhakara-vardhana by name, who raised himself to considerable eminence by his successful prosecution of a scheme of conquest by which he subdued all his neighbours including the Malavas.

the Huns of the north western Punjab, and the Gurjaras, and imposing upon them the yoke of his superior authority. Like Pushyamitra, who was aided in his career of annexations by his worthy son and grandson, King Prabhakaravardhana was also assisted in the realization of his ambitions by his two heroic sons, Rajyavardhana, the crown prince, and his younger brother, Harsha. The king "one day summoned", in the words of Bana, the histriographer of Harsha, "Rajyavardhana whose age now fitted him for wearing armour, and, as a lion despatches whelp against the deer, placed him at the head of an immense force and sent him attended by ancient advisers and devoted feudatories towards the north to attack the Hunas." Harsha also followed his brother with a cavalry force. While the elder brother was hunting out the enemy in the hills, the younger chose to enjoy the sports of all kinds offered in abundance by the forests at the foot of the hills. In the graphic words of Bana, "his bow drawn to the ear, he emitted a rain of shining shafts which in a comparatively few days left the forests empty of wild creatures." When this expedition was hardly finished, the unpleasant news of the king's illness made young Harsha first return to capital, followed later by Rajyavardhana who ascended the throne on his father's death. But the throne did not mean any peace to him, or to his brother. There came the distressing intelligence that his brother-in-law was slain by the king of Malwa who confined the emperor's sister "like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet" at Kanouj. Rajyavardhana at once started to avenge his sister's wrongs with a mobile force of 10,000

cavalry, leaving elephants and heavy troops behind in his brother's charge.

Harsha, whose heroic spirit and kindled wrath could not reconcile him to this enforced inactivity, made earnest importunities to his brother to let him follow him in his campaigns in the following words : " If you think it inopportune that two should go. gratify me with the commission." So speaking, he sank his head to the ground and fell at his brother's feet. The brother answered : 'A concourse of lions in the matter of a deer is too degrading. Be pleased to stay'. Harsha, thus kept back, "could scarcely make the time pass, alone as he was like a wild elephant strayed from the herd." The king of Malwa was easily defeated but when Rajyavardhana was returning from victory he was treacherously led into a trap and murdered by the king of Malwa's ally, Sasanka, king of central Bengal. Harsha was not merely informed of the foul murder of his brother but also of the further fact that his widowed sister had escaped from confinement to the depths of the Vindhyan forests. The first task, therefore, that confronted him when he became king was the pursuit of his brother's murderer together with the recovery of his widowed sister. The old Senapati, Sinhanada by name, acclaimed him thus at this crisis : "Once more, you are the vanguard of the stout-hearted, the captain of the wise, the foremost of the mighty, the champion of the noble, the forerunner of the illustrious, the prince of the dauntless." He chose to undertake the latter task first as being the more urgent, and events showed that his choice was wise. for the princess, in sheer helplessness and despair.

was on the point of burning herself alive when the brother guided by aboriginal chiefs, succeeded in finding his way to her in the depths of the Vindhyan jungles

The early troubles through which he thus passed seem to have impressed upon his mind the genuinely Kshatriya ideal of bringing all India under one umbrella. A methodical scheme of Digvijaya (the conquest of the Quarters) was thus formed to the prosecution of which he devoted all his ability and energy. The following proclamation was issued by him through his Prime Minister, Avanti: "Let all kings prepare their hands to give tribute or grasp swords, to seize the realms of space or chowries, let them bend their heads or their bows, grace their ears with my commands or their bow-strings, crown their heads with the dust of my feet or with helmets." A mobile and formidable force comprising 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry was built up, and with that force, in the picturesque words of the contemporary Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, "went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient. The elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers were unhelmeted." Within about five years he accomplished a conquest not merely of the north western parts of India but also of a large part of Bengal.

9. Pulakesin II.

PULAKESIN II of the Chalukya dynasty in the Deccan is one of the most remarkable heroes in South Indian history. There was a contest for the succession to the throne with his uncle and predecessor who tried to secure it for one of his

sons, but Pulakesin, who had already grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues and although his uncle had all the advantages conferred by the actual possession of power, he could not succeed against Pulakesin but lost his life and his kingdom in the struggle against his more powerful nephew. Pulakesin ascended the throne in 608 A.D., but from the very moment of his installation, he had his hands quite full in fighting the enemies who rose on all sides when they found that the valour that had kept them in subjection was withdrawn. For the space of twenty years and more, this great prince devoted himself to a continuous career of aggression directed against all the neighbouring states. The first attack was levelled against him by two princes named Appayika and Govinda, who very probably belonged to the Rashtrakuta race. According to a contemporary inscription, the former had in his army even horses from the northern seas but he fled in fear when confronted by the powerful forces of Pulakesin, while Govinda had no alternative but to surrender to him, and, becoming his ally, was received into favour and rewarded. Then Pulakesin, instead of waiting for the offensive of his enemies of the neighbouring kingdoms, himself started it, and first turned his arms against the Kadambaras and attacked and reduced their capital Banavasi. His next exploit was to compel the prince of the Ganga family which ruled over the Chera country situated above the modern province of Mysore, and the chiefs of the Alupa race, which probably held the province of Malabar, to become his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of Konkan who were vanquished.

without any difficulty By this time he had also built up his naval power and with a fleet of 100 ships he attacked and reduced Puri (which was probably the capital of the Maurya kingdom of Konkan and afterwards of the Silaharas and was also known as Lakshmi or the mistress of the western ocean). He next subdued the kings of Lata, Malwa and Gurjara, who then became his feudatories About this time he came into conflict with the other great king of northern India who, after achieving his paramount sovereignty in that region, now challenged the supremacy of his southern contemporary The challenge was, however, accepted by the king of the south, and that with conspicuous success On this well-known historical episode, the great Chinese traveller Hsien Tsang comments in the following words, while referring to his personal experience of Pulakesin: "At present the great king, Siladitya (Harshavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west, he subdues distant peoples and makes neighbouring nations fear him: but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, though he has marched himself to punish them, he was not able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their war-like habits and manners". The fact of the matter was that when Harsha wished to extend his power to the south of the Narmada, he was opposed by Pulakesin who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward Pulakesin became known by the new title of Paramesvara or Lord Paramount. The northern

limit of his kingdom was formed by the Narmada on whose banks was stationed a strong force to guard the frontiers. By the prowess of his arms and his personal heroism, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Maharashtra containing 99 villages. Even the distant kings of Kosala and Kalinga trembled at his approach and offered him submission. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kanchipura (Conjeevaram) and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Cauvery and invaded even the countries of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas who were compelled to become his allies. It was thus a regular career of *Digvijaya* at the end of which his supremacy was established throughout the south. In fact, Harshavardhana and Pulakesin divided between themselves the paramount sovereignty of the whole of India.

Huen Tsang gives certain interesting details regarding the military habits of Pulakesin's people and his administration: "In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporeally, they make him wear women's clothes and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of 700. Each time they prepare for combat, they drink wine to intoxicate them and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy 10,000 enemies. If they killed a man met upon the road, the law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign, these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants.

At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing such men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms." But the fame of this king of the Deccan was not confined within the limits of the Vindhya. It spread throughout India and even abroad and reached the ears of Khusru II of Persia who in the 36th year of his reign (625 A.D.) received a complimentary embassy from Pulakesin obviously in reply to the earlier one he had received from the Persian king. This event is recorded in the work of the Mahomedan historian Tabari, but more interesting is the evidence of the same event recorded in a large fresco painting in cave No. 1 at Ajanta which gives a vivid representation of the ceremonial attending the presentation of their credentials by the Persian envoys.

10. Dahir, his queen and his son.

THE Arab conquest of Sind was the occasion for calling forth notable examples of Indian heroism. Dahir, the then king of Sind, put up a manly defence and fought the enemy to the last in spite of the cowardice of his ministers. When he fell bravely fighting in the defence of his fort of Rawar, his work was taken up by his truly heroic son Jaisiya, and his hardly less heroic queen. The name of Dahir's son, Jaisiya or lion-conqueror, has itself a story behind it connected with his birth. According to the story, Dahir went hunting with all the animals and equipment of the chase. In the midst of the chase, there came forth a roaring lion, and all his followers

stampeded Dahir alighted from his horse and went on foot to oppose the lion and finally felled the beast. The men who had fled for fear informed the Rani who was then pregnant with child that the king was fighting with a lion. On learning this she fainted and died, but the child was rescued from the mother's womb alive. Jaisiya was unequalled in bravery and wisdom in his times. Proud of his courage, power and dignity, he prepared to fight the enemy. He said "He would go to oppose the enemy and strike a blow to save his honour and his name, for it would be no loss if we were to be slain." With all his forces he chose to give battle to the enemy from his fort of Brahmanabad. In the words of Chachnama, "the wife together with some of the generals prepared for battle. She reviewed the army in the fort and 15,000 were counted. They had all resolved to die. Kasim encamped under the walls of the fort. The garrison began to beat drums and sound clarions from the ramparts and threw down from the ramparts and bastions stones from mangonels and balistas as well as arrows and javelins." Finding resistance hopeless, the queen assembled all her women and said: "Our honour would be lost, our respite is at an end, and there is nowhere any hope of escaping. Let us collect wood, cotton, and oil, for I think that we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself, she may." So they went into a house, set it on fire and burnt themselves.

[Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II.]

11. Jaipal and Anangapal.

JAIPAL was one of the Hindu kings of the Punjab upon whom devolved the duty of defending his country against the earlier Moslem invasions of India. He was the first to realize the true significance of the political situation created by the establishment of a new and growing power in the kingdom of Ghazni on the very frontiers of India by the Turkish leader, Sabaktagin. He had heard reports from the people who travelled in his country how Sabaktagin was making frequent expeditions into the frontier tracts in prosecution of 'holy wars' and injuring everyone who opposed him in his projects of ambition. "It appeared to him like a personal calamity and a deep grief seized him and made him restless." Anticipating the inevitable conflict, Jaipal of Lahore chose to strike the first blow and took the offensive himself. He collected all his relations and the generals of the army as well as his vassals and hastened with his huge elephants to avenge the wrongs done. He marched on and encamped between Ghazni and Laghaman where he chose to give his enemy battle. The armies fought for several days with terrible carnage produced by sword and spear, but inclement weather forced Jaipal to come to terms with Sabaktagin. The peace offer was sent in the following terms which indicate the spirit of the defenders: "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death whenever any calamity befalls them as at this moment. If therefore you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder, tribute, elephants and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount

the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you, is stones and dirt, dead bodies and scattered bones " Peace was finally agreed to by Jaipal undertaking to surrender a large amount of money, 50 elephants, and some cities and forts in the middle of the country Jaipal, however, did not mean to keep his promise. It now remained for Sabaktagin to enforce the terms of the treaty Jaipal, however, was the most capable leader of the times. He realized the power and potentialities of the new Moslem menace which he preferred to meet not singlehanded, but by the organization of a Hindu confederacy which was joined by the kings of Delhi, Ajmir, Kalinjar and Kanouj. He placed himself at the head of a vast allied army numbering 1,00,000 cavalry and a large infantry, and advanced to Laghaman. The two armies met in a deadly struggle: "Men and officers mingled in close conflict and all other arms were useless except the sword; the dust which arose prevented the eyes from seeing, swords could not be distinguished from spears, men from elephants, valiants from cowards." Jaipal was, however, defeated, Sabaktagin obtained immense booty, besides a large number of prisoners of war.

The Brahman King of Lahore, in spite of his defeats, had not his spirit of heroism and freedom crushed out of him for when he was soon called upon to meet a more powerful antagonist in Mahmud of Ghazni, the successor of Sabaktagin at Ghazni, he was quite equal to the occasion. Mahmud

advanced as far as Peshawar and pitched his tent outside the city "There he received the intelligence of the bold resolve of Jaipal to offer opposition and of his rapid advance towards him to give him battle" As on the previous occasion, Jaipal organized a league of Hindu chiefs and his kinsmen numbering about 15 The allied army thus comprised 12,000 horse, 30,000 foot soldiers, and 300 elephants "The Hindu", says the Mahomedan historian, "set his cavalry and beat his drums The elephants moved on from their posts, and line advanced against line, shooting their arrows at one another like boys escaped from the school who at even time shoot at a target for a wager, swords flashed like lightning amid the blackness of clouds, and fountains of blood flowed like the fall of setting stars" The Hindu army, in spite of its heroic stand, was defeated. Jaipal, unable to stand the shame of dishonour and captivity, "thought death by cremation preferable" and perished on the pyre created under his orders.

It may be noted in connection with the earlier campaigns of Jaipal against the aggressions of Sabaktagin that their failure was due not so much to the military deficiency of the Hindus as to the inclemency of nature. Elliot quotes from Tabakati Akbari to show that Jaipal and the Hindus were unaccustomed to the cold of the north western frontier and that was the reason why they suffered more than the Mussalmans He says. "It may fairly be surmised, then, that the snow and frost totally paralysed the Hindu warriors and were felt as grievously by them as nine centuries afterwards by Indian and British troops combined. when they

sustained the most grievous disaster that has ever befallen our nation. It is an extraordinary coincidence that the very scene of this first and last defeat of an Indian army was the same .. what wonder if the cause also did not differ ?”

Heroism seldom descends from father to son, but it was not so in the case of Jaipal and his descendants. A strenuous fight for independence was maintained by his noble family for three generations. The spirit of Jaipal was not extinct with his death. It found a new embodiment in his hardly less heroic son, Anangapal, who made arrangements on similar lines but on a grander scale for the defence of Hindu India against the impetuous invasions of the foreigners.

In 1000 A.D. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni was preparing for his final trial of strength, and, collecting all his forces, determined to invade Hindustan and punish Anangapal against whom he had already come to have a deep grudge. The account of the campaign is told best after that of Ferishta. According to him, “Anangapal, on learning the intentions of Sultan Mahmud, sent ambassadors on all sides inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty.” A large confederacy of Hindu kings was thus formed under the leadership of Anangapal who was able to unite under the stress of a newly awakened patriotism the whole of Hindu India above the Vindhya in a common cause in the prosecution of a Holy war against Islam. This league of Hindu kings counted among its members those of Ujjaini, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanouj, Delhi and Ajmeer.

The physical location of all these kingdoms points to the wide area that was unified and animated by a common impulse and spirit. Apart from the kingships, the position of leadership that belonged naturally to Anangapal in those days enabled him to engage even the sympathies of the rude clan of Gakkars (Khokhars) who joined him in great strength and made extraordinary exertions to resist the Mussalmans. Indeed, the national spirit was then roused almost to a white heat. It was as deep as wide-spread. It affected every class of people including even the women of the land. In the words of Ferishta "The Hindu females on this occasion sold their jewels and sent the proceeds from distant parts to their husbands, so that they, being supplied with all necessaries for the march, might be earnest in the war." The war-fever even seized the poor: "Those who were poor contributed from their earnings by spinning cotton and other labour." Even the enemy could not but respect and fear the devotion of the Hindus to a great cause. "The Sultan perceived that on this occasion the idolators behaved most devotedly and that it was necessary to be very circumspect in striking the first blow. He therefore so entrenched his camp that the infidels might not be able to penetrate therein. The Indians and the Mahomedans arrived in sight of each other on the plains of Peshawar where they remained encamped for 40 days, neither side showing any eagerness to come to action. The troops of the idolators daily increased in number, and aid came to them from all sides."

The allied Hindu army fought with the utmost bravery and complete defiance of death and the Hindu resistance

was remarkable for the special heroism of the Gakkars. No better testimony to it is to be found than that of Ferishta : “ In spite of the Sultan’s precautions during the heat of the battle, 30,000 infidel Gakkars with their heads and feet bare and armed with spears and other weapons penetrated on all sides into the Mahomedan lines, and forcing their way into the midst of the cavalry, they cut down men and horse with their swords, daggers, and spears, so that in a few minutes they slaughtered three or four thousand Mahomedans. They carried their success so far that the Sultan, observing the fury of these Gakkar footmen, withdrew himself from the thick of the fight, that he might stop the battle from that day.” In spite of this heroism, the result of this struggle was not very favourable for the Hindus. In the end, a league was entered into between Anangapal and Sultan Mahmud as a result of which Sultan Mahmud agreed that “ no injury should be sustained by that prince’s country in consequence of the Mahomedan army passing through it.” The terms of this treaty were put into operation when Mahmud was meditating his designs against Thaneswar. The Hindu Chiefs under the leadership of Anangapal tried to persuade Sultan Mahmud to give up that design against one of the holiest places of Hindus. Anangapal’s brother with 2,000 horse was sent to meet Mahmud’s army and to deliver the following message : “ My brother is the subject and tributary of the king, but he begs permission to acquaint His Majesty that the temple of Thaneswar is the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of the country ; that although the religion of the king makes it an important and meritorious

duty to destroy idols, still the king has already acquitted himself of this duty in the destruction of the idols in the fort of Nagarkot” Mahmud, however, was absolutely uncompromising, for it was also with him a holy war in which he was but acting as a missionary of the Prophet. His reply was that “in proportion as the tenets of the Prophet are diffused and his followers exert in the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their reward in heaven”

This kind of reply stirred Hindu India once again to its very depths. As soon as the answer was communicated to the Raja of Delhi, a tributary of Anangapal, messages were despatched throughout Hindustan “to acquaint the other kings that Mahmud without provocation was marching with a vast army to destroy Thaneswar now under his immediate protection. He observed that, if a barrier was not expeditiously raised against the roaring torrent, the country of Hindustan would be soon overwhelmed and every state, small and great, would be entirely subverted. It, therefore, behoved them to unite their forces at Thaneswar to avert the impending calamity.” The language of the message shows how the example of Jaipal and Anangapal was bearing fruit in the heroisms of the subordinate kings whom the impulse of both religion and patriotism was driving to put up a brave defence against the alien enemy, although the results of the Hindu efforts were not at all creditable to their military capacity or organization. We are only concerned with the spirit of their deeds and not their results.

The heroic spirit of Anangapal was also continued in his

son, Jaipal II. As related by Tabakat-i-Akbari, the spirit of Hindu resistance to Sultan Mahmud's invasions was so great that when the king of Kanouj named Rajyapal, deserting his fellow chiefs, took independent action in recognising and submitting to the Sultan without fighting him, there was a regular confederacy of Hindu kings formed in order to punish that defection. This confederacy was planned by the Raja of Kalinjar, named Ganda, who resolved to invade the territory of the traitor king in spite of his consciousness of the inevitable danger from Mahmud's attitude. Mahmud, as soon as he heard of this combination, resolved to invade the territory of the Raja of Kalinjar. When he reached the banks of the Jumna, Jaipal II came nobly forward to assist the king of Kalinjar but unfortunately he was defeated and had to escape. The allied army which the Raja of Kalinjar commanded was very large, consisting of 36,000 horse, 105,000 foot and 640 elephants. Mahmud first offered him terms which were refused by the Raja who prepared to fight, but, as usual, it was of no avail.

An episode in connection with Sultan Mahmud's invasions may be related in this connection because it throws light on the spirit of the people who suffered from them. When, after his sack of Somanath temple, he set out with his whole army on his return journey, there was opposition to him organized by the kings of Ajmeer and Anhalwara. Mahmud, not quite prepared to meet their opposition, was obliged to take to untried and perilous roads. As related by Tabakat-i-Nasiri: "On his demand for guides, a Hindu came forward and promised to lead the way, and the army of Islam for some

time marched behind him, and it became time to call for a halt. People went in search of water and it was nowhere found. The sultan summoned the guide to his presence and asked him where water was procurable. He replied "I have devoted my life for the sake of my deity, Somanath, and have brought thee and thy army into this desert, where no water is, in order that all may perish." He of course paid for his treachery with his life.

12. Prithiviraj.

THE invasion of Shihabuddin was again the occasion of a fresh exhibition of Hindu heroism in India. He was from the very first fired by the ambition of becoming not merely the invader, but also the conqueror of India. His policy was therefore in the first place to suppress all his Moslem rivals in India and then to devote himself wholly to the subjection of the Hindus. When the first of these aims was accomplished and the rear of his attack upon India was thus secured, he took up energetically the execution of the second part of his policy. The contest between him and the Hindus would seem to be very unequal on a superficial view. For the army of Shihabuddin was recruited from the fierce and hardy highlanders of the Afghan mountains whose military mettle was further kept up in proper form by their constant friction with the Seljuks and the northern hordes of Tartars, while the Hindus as a people were known to be naturally gentle and inoffensive, broken up into small states, lacking the compelling force of a keen nationalism, and, moreover, forced into war without any

hopes of material gain or aggrandisement. And yet, as a matter of fact, none of the Hindu principalities fell without a severe struggle, and some were never entirely subdued but still remained substantive states after the Mussalman empire had gone to ruin.

As Elphinstone has rightly pointed out, this unexpected Hindu opposition was chiefly due to the peculiar character of the Rajputs who were distinctively a military community with a special organization of their own. "The Rajputs are born soldiers, each division had its hereditary leader and each formed a separate community like clans in other countries, the members of which were bound by many ties to their chiefs and to each other. The rules of caste still subsisted and tended to render more powerful the connection just described. As the chiefs of those clans stood in the same relation to the Raja as their own retainers did to them, the king, the nobility and the soldiery all made one body, united by the strongest feelings of kindred and military devotion. The sort of feudal system that prevailed among the Rajputs gave additional stability to this attachment, and all together produced the pride of birth, the high spirit and romantic notions so striking in the military class of that period. Their enthusiasm was kept up by the songs of their bards and inflamed by frequent contests for glory or for love."

In 1191 Shihabuddin advanced from Lahore, crossed the Sutlej in the direction of Delhi and captured the fortress of Sirhind, north of Ambala. The leader of Hindu opposition was then the famous Prithivi Raja, king of Ajmeer and Delhi,

and the head of the two united Rajput clans of the Tomaras and Chauhans. He marched out to meet the foe at the head of a large army of Rajputs and their allies, and a hard fought battle took place in a village called Tarain near Thanesar, on the great plain where most of the contests for the possession of India had been decided. The Mahomedan mode of fighting was to charge with bodies of cavalry in succession, who either withdrew after discharge of their arrows or pressed their advantage as circumstances might suggest. The Hindus, on the other hand, endeavoured to outflank their enemy and close upon him on both sides, while he was busy with his attack on their centre. The tactics of the Hindus were clearly successful on this occasion. While Shihabuddin was engaged in the centre of his army, he learnt that both his wings had given way, and soon found himself thus surrounded. In the thick of the fight, he rushed upon the elephant which carried Govind Roy, one of the chief heroes, who was the Viceroy of Delhi and brother of Prithivi Raja, and drove his lance into the mouth of the Roy who however returned the blow and inflicted a severe wound on the arm of his adversary. Thus surrounded, the Sultan could not support himself on horse-back when a young Afghan jumped upon the horse behind him and rode away with him from the battle-field. Losing sight of their leader, the Mahomedans were struck with panic and fled; and were pursued for 40 miles. After this complete defeat, the Sultan 'never slumbered in ease or waked but in sorrow and anxiety'. Prithivi Raja also, after this glorious victory, did

not rest on his oars, but organized a confederacy of Hindu chiefs which was joined by not less than 150 Rajput princes under his banner in order to meet Shihabuddin

When Shihabuddin launched his next attack to retrieve his fortunes, the cause of the Hindu was weakened by the jealousy of Prithivi Raja's cousin, Raja Jayachand of Kanouj. The jealousy was due to the fact that their common grandfather, the Tomara chief of Delhi, dying heirless, adopted Prithivi Raja in preference to Jayachandra as his successor. This made Prithivi Raja, the ruler of both Ajmeer, his paternal kingdom, and Delhi. This improvement of the position and prestige of his cousin was an eyesore to Jayachandra, whose selfishness made him stand aloof from the Holy League of Hindu chiefs planned by his rival Prithivi Raja, and incapable of appreciating the sacred cause for which the League stood. The preparations of Prithivi Raja were by no means too adequate for the purpose of the coming conflict. For Shihabuddin collected 120,000 horsemen bearing heavy arms and 40,000 light armed cavalry recruited from the Turks and Persians and gave battle to the Hindus on the fateful field of Paniput (1192). The Rajputs fought with desperate valour and patriotism for all that was dear to them, — for the safety of their homes, their country, and their religion. But all was of no avail against the rude and well-disciplined veterans of Shihabuddin Ghorî. Govinda Roy, the hero of the first battle, was now killed. The Hindus were hopelessly routed and Prithivi Raja, leaving his elephant for a horse, galloped away from the battle-field in the hope of collecting his scattered forces

for another attempt at resistance. He was very soon captured and put to death

But the reputation of Prithivi Raja does not rest solely on the heroism of the resistance he organized against the invasion of Shihaduddin. His more popular name is Rai Pithora, famous in song and story as a chivalrous rival and doughty champion. He may be described with justice as the popular hero of northern India, whose exploits in love and war have been the subject of epics and bardic lays to this day. His fame as a bold lover rests upon his daring abduction of the not unwilling daughter of Jaichand, the Gharwar Raja of Kanouj, which took place in or about 1175 A.D. His reputation as a general is securely founded upon his defeat of the Chandel Raja, Parmal, and the capture of Mahoba in 1182, as well as upon his gallant resistance to the flood of Mahomedan invasion. Considering the literature that has grown round his beloved name, Rai Pithora may be justly likened to the hero of Arthurian legends. The best known account dealing with his exploits is a Hindi epic called Chand-Raisa or Prithivi Raisa, which is extremely popular in the United Provinces. The authorship of the work is attributed to Chand Bardai, who was the court poet of his hero and patron. The heroism that Prithivi Raja bequeathed to his son made the victor, Shuhabuddin Ghori, think of conciliating the exasperated feelings of the Rajputs, by installing the Prince as the ruler of Ajmeer in his father's place under his over-lordship.

13. Some Ancient Indian Village Heroes.

AN account of Indian heroes will be incomplete without reference to the achievements of those heroes whose actions were confined only to a limited field but were inspired nevertheless by the noblest of motives. These may be described in the immortal words of the poet Gray as "Village Hampdens that with dauntless breast, the little Tyrant of their fields withstood".

References to their achievements are to be found in the inscriptions on the '*Virgals*' or hero-stones of Central India, Bombay and Madras. Thus an inscription on Ablur stone commemorates the death of the brothers, Macha and Goma, fighting valiantly to repel a cattle raid against their village. The raid was led by a chieftain named Iswaradeva in conjunction with other fellow-chieftains who "with 10,000 men and 1,000 horse came along and descended on Abbaluru and seized the herd of penned-up cows". The bravery displayed by the two brothers in resisting this unjustifiable invasion of vastly superior numbers is thus described in the inscription: "While the valiant Badagi-Macha, having rained blows on the array of horses that he drove away, was still attacking them, and while Goma, having stared fiercely at them, was shooting arrows, the whole of the hostile force immediately fell down in all directions. What words can I use? If you consider, it surpassed all comparison! Meeting them in the most terrifying manner, Macha, the son of Ketoja, plunged recklessly into the hostile force, and pierced many of them, in such a way that the bravery of these two brothers

was a wonder to the earth Macha and Goma fought in battle with many people and killed numbers of them and went with great fame to heaven" (See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol V, page 264)

An inscription of the 29th year of the Chola king, Parantaka I, (900 to 940 A D) records the death of a warrior in his attempt to recover some cattle which were being lifted by a raider who is identified with one of the kings of the western Ganga family To the left of the inscription there is a stone slab representing in bas-relief the warrior marching towards the proper left. He holds a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right and wears a head-dress, a necklace, and a girdle Behind him on the proper right is engraved a small quadruped which looks like a donkey but may be meant for a horse.

Another inscription of the 32nd year of the same king marks the spot on the embankment at which the hero of a village killed a tiger. The adjoining stone slab represents him in bas-relief as wearing a head-dress and a loin cloth, facing the proper left, and fighting the tiger which has risen on its hind-legs and is biting his left arm. In his right hand he holds a sword with which he is piercing the abdomen of the tiger.

Similar heroisms in connection with cattle-lifting are recorded in two Tamil inscriptions at Ambur The first records the death of a son, and the other, the death of a nephew. The death of the two warriors took place in their attempts to resist a cattle-raid which a Pallava ruler organized against their village. (See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pages 178, 182 and 183.)

References to some other village Hampdens are to be found in some records of the Rashtrakuta kings of Malkhed (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VI, page 160 F) One of these records the death in a local affray of two heroes named Dasamma and Ereya. Another belonging to the time of the Rashtrakuta king, Dhruva, commemorates the death, on the occasion of a cattle-raid, of a local hero named Dommara-Kadava who had to fight against 1,000 litters.

Two inscriptions dated in the 17th year of the reign of king Vijaya Iswaravarman who seems to have been one of the Ganga Pallavas record the death of two heroes in attempting the defence of their village.

Inscription No. 411 in the *Madras Epigraphy Report* for 1912 [p 96], which is assigned to the 8th year of the Chola King Rajaraja I, records that "a certain Kalipperuman lost his life in the act of affording protection against run to his native village. Perhaps he sacrificed his life voluntarily, or in defending the village against an invading enemy. The good residents of the district in which Marudadu was situated provided for a permanent lamp in the temple of Perundirukkcoil-Alvar at that village in order to secure merit for the martyr." Here we find how the patriotic self-sacrifice of the hero is appreciated and immortalised by his grateful community by the creation of a kind of monument which is infinitely 'more enduring than brass', and certainly more in keeping with the martyrdom it commemorates.

Some inscriptions from the Madakasira Taluk of the Anantapur district ranging in dates over a long period

from the early 9th century illustrate the heroic sacrifices of other "Village Hampdens" and the grateful recognition of the villages served by them. Thus in the Madras Epigraphy Report of 1916, No. 749 of Appendix B mentions the case of a villager successfully repelling two or three destructive raids for which he is rewarded by grant of land. No. 753 in the same *Report* mentions the death of both son and father in a battle they fought in defence of their village. No 17 of Appendix C records the fame of a village warrior who successfully defended his village against hostile attacks. No 33 of Appendix C gives the description of a fight in which the hero defends his village against vastly superior numbers of the invading force, killing 500 men and 100 horses. Another heroic act is commemorated in Nos. 19 and 58 of Appendix C which record a rent-free grant of land in recognition of blood spilt in the cause of the protection of the village against the enemy.

14. Babar and Rana Sanga.

THE career of Babar contributes a glorious page to the history of Indian heroism. As has been aptly described by Lane-Poole.—

"Babar is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial Government, between Tamerlane and Akbar. The blood of the two scourges of Asia, Chengiz and Timur, mixed in his veins and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tartar, he joined the culture and urbanity of the Per-

sian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk to the listless Hindu, and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar achieved”.

We are not however concerned with his early career which was spent in ineffectual struggles to preserve his sovereignty in his native land, nor with his early manhood passed in his new kingdom of Kabul, which was full of unsatisfied yearning for the recovery of his mother country. It was at the age of 36 that he abandoned his hope of a restored empire on the Oxus and Jaxartes and then turned his attention resolutely towards the cities and spoils of Hindostan. Not less than five times did he launch invasions against India. But the fifth invasion was a conquest. As Babar himself wrote in his Memoir in 1526.—

“From the time when I conquered the land of Kabul in 1504 till now, I had always been bent on subduing Hindostan... From 1519 to 1526 I specially devoted myself to the affairs of Hindostan and in the space of 7 or 8 years, I entered it at the head of an army. The fifth time, God, Most High, of His mercy and grace, cast down and defeated so powerful an enemy as Sultan Ibrahim and made me master and conqueror of the mighty empire of Hindostan.”

This memorable victory was achieved at Paniput, on the field where the fate of Hindostan has thrice been decided. For several days, Babar was busy with his preparations. He collected 700 gun-carts and formed a laager by linking

them together with twisted bull hides to break a cavalry charge and by arranging hurdles or shields between each pair to protect the match-lock men. At first the odds were against Babar. His men were far from cool, being at distances of month's journey, from their own homes, while in front of them, the King of Delhi was believed to muster a hundred thousand troops with nearly a hundred elephants. The Sultan Ibrahim was no match in generalship for Babar, who describes him contemptuously as an inexperienced young man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight. Babar at first attempted a night surprise upon the enemy's position, which had the effect of drawing him out of his camp. As soon as the enemy's movements were detected, his men were ordered to put on their helmets and mail and take up their stations. Babar put into execution the famous national manoeuvre of the Mongols, namely, the "Tulughma", that rapid wheel, charging the enemy's rear, of which Babar had himself proved only too thoroughly the tremendous effect. "The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset began, and the battle lasted till mid-day, when the enemy was completely broken and routed and my people victorious and triumphant. By the grace and mercy of the Almighty God, this difficult affair was made easy and that mighty army, in the space of half-a-day, was laid in the dust". Thus wrote Babar in regard to his victory which gave him mastery of Hindostan. It is Babar's generalship that practically determined the issue. His skilful disposition of his men behind a fortified laager, which

checked the enemy's charges above all their heavy elephants ; his adoption of the Mongol flanking manœuvre, and his alert support of each section of his line the instant he detected any wavering—these were among the causes of his victory. When the battle began, his men were no little alarmed, but their confidence and pluck returned when they saw their emperor's cool calculation and watchful tactics.

But Babar's trials were not yet over. He was now King of Delhi, but not yet King of Hindostan, much less of India. Signs of resistance and opposition were multiplied all over the country. To add to this, the spirit of his troops was far from encouraging. Far less encouraging was the spirit of the people. As Babar himself says, "When I came to Agra it was the hot season. All the inhabitants fled from terror so that we could find neither grain for ourselves nor fodder for our beasts. The villagers, out of mere hatred and spite to us, had taken to anarchy, thieving and marauding. The roads became impassable". The troops of Babar began to murmur. The heat of Agra was trying to them. They longed for the cool air of Kabul and even made ready for returning. Even his best General, the faithful Khwaja Kalan, whose six brothers had followed him to their deaths, was eager to desert him and return home. To check this state of things, Babar summoned his war council whom he addressed thus :--

"A mighty enemy had been overcome and a rich and powerful kingdom was at our feet. And now having attained goal and won our game, are we to turn back from all we have accomplished and fly to Kabul like men who have lost and are

discomfited ? Let no man who calls himself my friend ever again moot such a thing. But if there be any one of you who cannot bring himself to stay, then let him go '.

Thoroughly shamed, the murmurers dared not say a word. The whole army returned to their senses and the plague of disaffection was thus stayed among his people. There are indeed few acts more splendidly heroic in Babar's career than this bold resolution to stay where he was, in the middle of India, among hostile nations and a discontented soldiery. The reward of firmness soon appeared. He had not only won over his own army, but many of his enemies. The people now began to think of his invasion as something more than a temporary raid like that of his ancestor Timur. For they saw that he had come and meant to stay. Some of the Afghan Chiefs, tired of the barbarities and uneasiness of a chronic state of civil war and chaos, were glad to welcome the introduction of order by a valiant chief.

But Babar was still an alien in the eyes of Hindu India which was awakened afresh into a spirit of resistance under a great leader, the heroic Rana Sanga of Chitor. The following account of his career is taken from Erskine and Todd by Lane Poole :—

“Rana Sanga was the head of the Rajput principality of Chitor, now known as Udaipur, and the representative of a family, which, by the universal consent of the Rajputs, is allowed pre-eminence among the Rajput tribes as the most ancient and the noblest. Like Babar he had been educated in the school of

adversity. After overcoming the many difficulties and dangers of his early life, when he at length mounted the throne, he carried on successful wars with his neighbours on every side and added largely to his hereditary dominion. From Sultan Muhammad Khilji, the king of Malwa, whom he defeated in battle, took prisoner and honourably entertained in a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry — he had wrested the wide and valuable province of Bhilsa, Sarangapura, Chanderi and Ranthambhor. He had engaged in hostilities with Sultan Ibrahim of Delhi and twice had met the Sultan himself in pitched battles. Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Raos and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Marwar and Amber did him homage and the Raos of Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raesen, Kalpek, Chanderi Bundi, Gagraon, Rampura and Abu served him as tributaries or held of him in chief. His personal figure corresponded with his deeds. He exhibited at his death but the fragment of a warrior, one eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodi king of Delhi and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken, with a cannon ball in another, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body. And his rival Babar who loved in an enemy the qualities he himself possessed, pays him only a just tribute of respect when he says

“ that the high eminence he then held he had attained but recently by his valour and his sword”.

Rana Sanga and Babar were representatives of two widely different races and cultures, but each had respect for his rival's greatness

“ There is neither east nor west,
Border nor Breed nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Tho' they come from the ends of the earth ’

The immediate cause of the conflict was Babar's occupation of a place called Biana on the western banks of the Ganges, which the Rajput claimed as his own. The Rana was at length marching upon Biana and had been joined by the Muhammadan chief of Mewat. It was quite a new and untried enemy that Babar was called upon to meet. All his campaigns had been hitherto against fellow Musalmans. Now for the first time he was fighting with the heathens in a holy war or 'jihad'. Moreover these heathens were first class fighting men. Babar had indeed experience of every type of military capacity. He knew the Mongol wheeling swoop, the Uzbek charge, the Afghan skirmish and the steady fighting of his own Turks. But he was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. “The Rajputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour”. Besides, their innate sense of honour and chivalry inspired the Rajputs to more heroic exploits and sacrifices

than any that could be conceived by less highly refined soldiers.

Babar encamped at Sikri, where he was joined by the garrison from Biana, which straightway reported to him, in terms of extravagant praise, the bravery and heroism of the Rajputs who already gave them a lesson. It was now the most anxious moment for Babar and his soldiers. His army was in fact almost in a panic at the reports of the numbers and courage of the Rajputs. But Babar preserved his head cool and bent his energies to the task of getting his army into a full state of efficiency. To infuse spirit into the drooping and the despondent, Babar addressed the following words of encouragement :—

“ Gentlemen and soldiers Every man that comes into the world must pass away. God alone is immortal and unchangeable. Whoso sits down to the feast of life must end by drinking the cup of death. All visitors of the inn of mortality must one day leave this house of sorrow. Rather let us die with honour than live disgraced !

With fame, though I die, I am content,
Let fame be mine, though life be spent.

God Most High has been gracious in giving us this destiny that, if we fall, we die martyrs, if we conquer, we triumph in His holy cause. Let us swear with one accord by the great name of God that we will never turn back from such a death or shrink from the stress of battle till our souls are parted from our bodies”. This speech had its desired effect. But the effect was

very badly needed, for every day brought bad tidings. A fort had surrendered, a chief had turned traitor, a detachment had been forced to retire, the Indians who joined the army began to desert and so forth. To the inspiration of his words, the emperor added that of his deed and his example. It was in this time of supreme tension that Babar exhibited an intense moral heroism by making his memorable renunciation of wine as a measure of propitiation or prophylactic to the God of victories, who could scarcely favour one who indulged in forbidden vice. The emperor sent for all his gold drinking cups, smashed them in pieces and gave them away to the poor. 'I renounce the use of wine', he said, 'purifying my mind'. Three hundred of his adherents followed the example of their chief and the store of wine in the camp was poured out upon the earth and an alms-house was built on the spot. An imperial manifesto, enjoining total abstinence, was issued to the army so that 'In all the regions protected by our sway, God keeping watch to guard them from all evil and enmity, there may not be a creature who shall indulge in intoxicating liquor, or employ himself in procuring or making spirits, or in selling them, or who shall purchase them, keep them, or carry them out, or bring them in'

Without any further waiting which only made the situation worse, Babar resolved to take the offensive and advance upon the enemy. The two armies met at Kanwaha in death grips. Babar made use of all his measures and manoeuvres which gave him victory in the earlier battle of Paniput. The army of Rana Sanga was estimated to be

over two hundred thousand The Rana was in fact the leader of a league of Hindu chiefs, who all made their contributions to the allied army. The chief of Bhilsa brought a contingent of thirty thousand horse The rulers of Mewat, Dongarपुर and Chandern brought twelve thousand each, the flower of Rajput chivalry Whatever the exact numbers of the Rana's forces, "A more gallant army could not be brought into the field" The Rajputs fought with desperate valour and resistance The battle began about half-past nine in the morning and continued the whole day until it was lost towards evening by the Rajputs, the noble Sanga himself escaping severely wounded.

[Authorities.—Lane Poole's *Babar* and *Mediæval India*, Elliot's *History of India*]

15. Akbar.

AKBAR the Great is deservedly famous for his 'victories of peace', his civil and religious institutions, embodying his truly imperial policy which was able to discover the methods whereby communities differing from one another in race and religion might be welded together into unity as equal subjects of a common and impartial political authority. Akbar, however, deserves to be equally famous for the hardly less important victories of war which he achieved during his long and successful career. In fact, it is not sufficiently recognised that in Akbar, the empire builder, there were really two men, one the merciless annexationist, the other with but little respect for the independence and integrity of small states and weak peoples. His primary aim in life was first

to extend his dominions and build up an empire in which his sovereign will would be supreme. He himself once declared, "A monarch should be ever intent on conquests, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him". This side of his character, so little studied, and so much obscured by the glare of his administrative success, has been well summed up by Mrs. Beveridge who holds that Akbar was "A strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales. He believed, probably without any obtrusion of a doubt as to his course, that the extension and consolidation of territory was a thing worth fighting for, he believed in supremacy as (being) in itself a desirable object, and having men and money went to work and took tract after tract without scruple". The truth of this characterisation will be evident from the fact that when he ascended the throne in January 1556, he hardly possessed any definite kingdom. His enthronement at Kalanaur simply registered the claim to sovereignty. But this small physical basis on which he started his career he himself lived to magnify into a vast empire, mainly by his personal heroism and superior statesmanship until in the end, his sovereignty was extended over the whole of northern, western and central India, as well as over the immense territories now known as Afghanistan, Balochistan, the border states of Kashmir, Sind and Orissa besides the minor kingdoms of the Deccan. Indeed, the story of his reign is itself one unbroken record of unexampled heroism coupled with a genius for organization which triumphed over every kind of obstacle and difficulty of which

ever since his birth in the inhospitable deserts of Sind with his father discrowned and helpless, Akbar had more than the ordinary share of mortals. Into the public aspects of his career and conquests it is not our present purpose to enter, for that is sufficiently dealt with in the numerous works bearing upon his life and reign. What is more appropriate for our purpose is to bring out only those incidents in his long and eventful career which reveal the true and ultimate source and foundation of all that he achieved in those elements in his nature and personal character which show the sterner stuff of which heroes are made. We know that in spite of elaborate arrangements made for his education in childhood no tutors could make young Akbar pay attention to books even so far as to learn the alphabet. He devoted himself almost exclusively to exciting sports, such as elephant fighting and the hunting of deer with the leopard. This extraordinary aspect of his character which showed itself in his very boyhood was far more exaggerated when he came of age and was illustrated by many startling examples of personal prowess. When he was only 18 years of age, he quitted his capital at Agra to punish Adham Khan for his gross misconduct as Governor of Malwa. Without giving notice to the great officers of the State he marched off with only a small escort with a rapidity that surprised the culprit, and then, in the very dog days of June, in utter disregard of climatic conditions and physical obstacles, made an equally rapid return journey to his capital. In the course of this journey homewards, Akbar met a tigress with five cubs near Marwar. He encountered the beast

on foot and killed her with a single blow of his sword. Some months later, at Agra, Akbar gave another exhibition of his reckless courage, pre-eminent physical strength, and extraordinary mastery in the act of controlling vicious elephants. An elephant named Hawai was notorious for his choler, passionateness, fierceness, and wickedness. One day, on the polo ground, Akbar, under the influence of drink, took it into his head to mount the savage brute who was compelled to execute wonderful manœuvres. Akbar however decided to have still further excitement and set Hawai to fight another vicious elephant Ran-bagha, the tiger in battle. The latter, unable to stand against the former's furious onslaught, fled, pursued by the victor who justified his name by his speed. Akbar, to the terror of the onlookers, held on firmly, and the two maddened beasts plunged down the steep banks of the Jumna and raced across the bridge of boats. The pontoons swayed and were submerged, but the elephants somehow got safely across to the other side of the river. Akbar was able to restrain Hawai in a moment.

There was yet another wild adventure on which he embarked next year, 1562. Receiving complaints of the violence practised by the people of eight villages in the Sakit Pargana now in the Etah district, United Provinces, Akbar determined to chastise the evil doers. He availed himself of the pretext of hunting and, accompanied by a small escort of less than 200 horsemen supported by as many elephants, he attacked the villagers numbering about 4,000. A hot fight followed. Akbar however noticed that some of his followers were shirking in a cowardly fashion and

taking cover. The royal wrath blazed forth and Akbar without waiting to collect the shirkers advanced on his elephant against a particular house where about 1,000 rebels were concealed. His elephant however put his foot into a grain-pit so that the officer riding behind fell on the top of his sovereign who cleverly extricated his mount. Seven arrows hit and five pierced Akbar's shield, but ultimately he succeeded in forcing his elephant through the wall. The house was set on fire and the rebels were consumed. On account of the peculiar system of his self-education, he had developed nerves of iron and bodily vigour which made him always ready to risk his life in personal combat with man or beast and scorn fatigues enough to kill an ordinary man.

In 1567, in order to suppress finally the renewed rebellion of Khan Zaman whom Akbar had appointed as the Governor of Jaunpur territory, Akbar himself left the capital and personally conducted the operations. On arrival at the Ganges, the Emperor displayed his customary energy and contempt of personal danger by swimming the elephant he rode across the great river. Nearly 1,000 or 1,500 of his soldiers managed somehow to swim over with him. The rebel chiefs were ill-prepared to withstand such a determined foe.

The next story of his personal heroism is in connection with his campaigns against Gujarat upon which he embarked for sheer lust of conquest. Although the expedition was adequately organized, the chief element of its strength, no doubt, came from the personal presence and

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heroism of the emperor who always behaved as the bravest and most reckless of his soldiers. An episode in the campaign gives a most glaring proof of his heroism. Hearing that one of the Mirzas (his cousins) murdered a person of distinction and was meditating further misdeeds, Akbar insisted on pursuing his rebellious relative with quite a small force at the head of which he rode. In the course of his march he came near a ford on the other side of which the enemy awaited him in much superior numbers. Akbar however refused to listen to advisers who counselled delay and waiting for reinforcements, and urged the advantage of a night attack. Akbar replied that he considered an attack in the dark was dishonourable and expressed his resolve to fight at once. Although the men with him did not exceed 200, Akbar, supported by Man Singh of Amber, his adoptive father, Bhagavan Das, and sundry brave Moslem nobles, forded the river and scrambled up the steep bank of the water gate of the town called Sarnal. The town was approached by narrow lanes fenced with prickly-pear cactus, the most unsuitable ground for cavalry movements. Akbar's party became entangled in the obstacles but Akbar himself remained undaunted. Bhagavan Das rode by his sovereign. Both were attacked by three men from the enemy's ranks, one of whom was disabled by the Raja's spear-thrust, while the other two were successively held at bay by Akbar until the rest of the royal party came up.

The next story of his heroism comes again from one of his later expeditions against Gujarat, where one of the irrepressible Mirzas again raised the standard of rebellion.

As usual, he resolved to proceed in person to suppress the insurrection. He personally superintended the military preparations. 'He frequently said that although he was exerting himself in the organization and despatch of the army, no one would be ready sooner than himself to take his part in the work.' The young sovereign in his 31st year, in the full maturity of his powers, physical and mental, was as good as his word. On August 23rd, 1573, young Akbar rode out from his capital attended by a small suite mounted on swift she-camels, he travelled 50 miles in stifling heat without any break, proceeding each day with equal speed and riding sometimes on a horse and sometimes in a light cart. By this continuous travel he quickly crossed Rajputana until he found himself in the outskirts of Ahmadabad, a city nearly 600 miles from Agra by the road used by Akbar, within the short space of nine days. So surprising was the speed of the emperor's journey that the insurgents, hearing the blast of his trumpets, could not believe their ears and said. "Our scouts reported that a fortnight ago the emperor was at Fathpur Sikri; how can he be here now? Where are the elephants which always travel with him?" The same dash and recklessness characterised his direction of the actual campaign. He indignantly rejected the advice of cautious counsellors who preferred him to wait for the city garrison to come out. He compelled his unwilling followers to give battle at once and with his accustomed impetuosity spurred his horse into and across the river and so challenged the enemy. The enemy, however, now fully roused, checked the progress of

his small advance guard. The emperor, perceiving the check, "gave the word and charged like a fierce tiger". Then followed intense hand-to-hand fighting. At one moment Akbar was left with only two troopers by his side and with his horse wounded. A report even spread that he had been killed. His men, however, when they saw that he was quite safe, rallied and quickly drove the rebels from the field. The enemy tried to make another attempt, but Akbar's heroic example seized the enemy's followers with a panic so disgraceful that the "Royal troops pulled the arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives and used them against them." The victor, spear in hand, rode back to his capital in 1573.

[Authorities.—V. Smith's Akbar the Great, Mogul;
Todd's Annals of Rajasthan]

16. Rani Durgavati and Bir Narayana.

THE history of Akbar's administration is remarkable for the heroism of some of the rulers of the States whose independence was sought to be crushed by the Emperor in pursuit of a merciless policy of annexation in his own interests. One of these countries is that known as Gondwana or the Gond country now forming the northern part of the Central Provinces which was then (1564) governed by a gallant lady, Rani Durgavati, a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahoba which had been one of the great powers of India 500 years earlier. Her father, being in straitened circumstances, had been obliged to marry his daughter to

the wealthy Gond Raja of greatly inferior social position against the traditions of his illustrious pedigree. In the new sphere to which the lady was thus transferred, she proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry and governed her adopted country with conspicuous capacity and courage, in comparison with which some of the best of rulers would suffer. The successful administration of a country surrounded by rival powers on all sides rested in those days on the efficiency of the military forces and organization for which this remarkable lady developed an extraordinary capacity coupled with great personal accomplishments. No more trustworthy testimony to her merits as a ruler can be found than that furnished by the great historian Abul-Fazl who remarks "She was doing great things by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Baz Bahadur and the Mianas, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles and 1,000 famous elephants. The treasures of the Rajas of the country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that, when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him".

As Mr. Vincent Smith justly remarks, Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble was mere aggression wholly unprovoked and devoid of any other justification than the lust for conquest and plunder. Indeed the attack ordered on the excellent Government of Rani Durgavati was absolutely devoid of any moral justification. Rani

Durgavati made a gallant defence against the overwhelming imperial forces (of which the number, according to one account, was 50,000 horse and foot) that were despatched against her by Akbar under his general Asaf Khan. The might of the imperial arms was sufficient to scare away many of her soldiers who deserted and left her to fight the enemy with greatly reduced forces, but she stood like a rock in defence of the liberties of her motherland. Her final stand was made between Garha and Mandla now in the Jabalpur District. Mounted on a mighty elephant she herself led her faithful following in utter defiance of every difficulty until disabled by two wounds from arrows. Preferring death to the dishonour of a capture, she stabbed herself to the heart so that "her end was as noble and devoted as her life had been useful."

The entire neighbourhood was indeed saturated with the spirit of the heroic queen of Gondwana. Two months after the death of the Rani, Asaf Khan after a short struggle, captured the fortress of Chauragarh now in the Narsinghpur district. The heroic defender of the place was the young Raja named Bir Narayana who died bravely, and protected the honour of his household by the awful act of sacrifice so often recorded in Hindu history. The tragic history is well told by Abul-Fazl: "He had appointed Bhoj Kaith and Miyan Bhikari Rumi to look after the Jauhar, for it is the custom of Indian Rajas under such circumstances to collect wood, cotton, grass, ghee and such like into one place and to bring the women and burn them, willing or unwilling. This they call the Jauhar. These

two faithful servants who were the guardians of honour, executed this service.

“Whoever out of feebleness of soul was backward (to sacrifice herself) was, in accordance with their custom, put to death by the Bhoj aforesaid. The wonderful thing was that four days after they had set fire to that circular pile, and all that harvest of roses had been reduced to ashes, those who opened the door found two women alive. A large piece of timber had screened them and protected them from the fire. One of them was Kamalavati, the Rani’s sister, and the other, the daughter of the Raja of Puragadha whom they had brought for the Raja, but who had not yet been united to him”

[Authorities —V Smith’s *Akbar the Great Mogul* ;
Abul-Fazl’s *Ain-i-Akbari*]

17. Some Chitor Heroes.

NEXT to Gondwana and Chauragarh the most conspicuous example of Akbar’s unprovoked aggression is furnished by his siege and capture of Chitor, the most famous and tragically interesting of all his martial enterprises, upon which the emperor embarked in 1567. According to local annalists, Akbar is said to have made a previous attempt which was repulsed by the masculine courage of the Rana’s queen who headed the sallies into the heart of the Mogul camp and, on one occasion, to the emperor’s head-quarters, and thus effected the deliverance of her country by making up for the cowardice of her husband. The real reason of Akbar’s

movement against Chitor is probably indicated by a story related by Abul-Fazl that, when Sakat Sing, a son of the Rana, was in attendance on Akbar in camp at Dholpur, the king remarked to him in a jesting manner that "though most of the landlords and great men of India had paid their respects, yet the Rana had not done so and that therefore he proposed to march against him and punish him". The proud Rajput prince without taking lightly such jests in the mouth of the master of many legions, fled secretly to his home and gave the alarm to his father. Thenceforward Akbar resolved definitely to humble the pride of the proudest chief in Rajasthan, the acknowledged head of the Rajput chivalry. So, "the Shah-in-shah's wrath was stirred up and jest became earnest". "His innate dignity demanded that he should go in person to chastise the Rana" who was "proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court". To use the graphic words of Mr. Vincent Smith, "No Rana of Mewar has ever abased himself by giving a daughter of his house to Mogul embraces, as fellow-chieftains in most of the other states were eager to do. No monarch could feel himself secure in the sovereignty of Upper India until he had obtained possession of Chitor and Ranthambhor, the two principal fortresses in the domains of the free Rajput chiefs".

The annals of Mewar, as recorded with sympathetic enthusiasm by Tod, are replete with romantic accounts of heroic deeds performed and extreme sacrifice undergone by the men and women of the ruling clan of Mewar called

Guhilot, and of other clans. Few members of the royal house of Mewar were found unworthy of the traditions of their illustrious pedigree or unequal to the obligations they implied. A most unfortunate exception to that traditional heroism was found in the craven prince who came to rule Mewar at the most critical time in her history when she was opposed by one of the ablest and most ambitious of Indian emperors. As Tod remarks, Rana Udaï Singh had not even one quality of a sovereign and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. At the time of Akbar's attack which was hastened by his cowardice, Udaï Singh shamelessly abandoned the post of honour and fled to distant forts leaving the country to its fate. The command of the fortress was however cheerfully undertaken by Jai Mall, one of the heroic followers of the cowardly sovereign. The defence of Chitor is associated with a remarkably gallant deed performed by the ladies of a young chieftain named Patta who is always linked by tradition with Jai Mall. The story is told in the glowing words of Tod: "The command devolved on Patta of Kailwa. He was only 16. His father had fallen in the last shock and his mother had survived but to rear this the sole heir of their house. Like the Spartan mother of old, she commanded him to put the saffron robe, and to die for Chitor; but surpassing the Grecian dame, she illustrated her precept by example; and lest any soft "compunctious visitings" for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa, she armed his young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock and the defenders of Chitor saw her

fall fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such deeds, the Rajputs became reckless of life”.

Patta himself fell later, being trampled to death by the driver of an elephant who said to the emperor that “he did not know the man’s name but that he appeared to be one of the leaders and that a large number of men had fought round him with sacrifice of their lives”.

The fall of the fortress was accompanied by the self-immolation of nine queens, five princesses, their daughters, as well as two infant sons and all the chieftain’s families. According to Abul-Fazl’s estimate, 300 women were thus burnt. When Akbar made his entry into the captured fortress, 8,000 Rajputs vowed to death, sold their lives as dearly as possible and perished to a man. The bravery of the garrison was however the reason which led the exasperated emperor to treat the people with merciless severity. The help given to the valiant 8,000 by 40,000 peasants during the siege made the emperor order a general massacre which resulted in the death of 30,000 people.

The fall of the fortress of Chitor hallowed by the memory of eight centuries of martyrdom, of heroic defence, and heart-rending tragedies sank deeply into the soul of Rajasthan. The place became accursed and remained desolate throughout the later history of Mewar which is associated with the heroic revival of lost glories and violated traditions accomplished by the valiant successor of the craven Rana Udai Singh.

The history of the heroic attempts of Rana Partap Singh to recover the independence of Mewar will now engage our attention. Before we go into that history, we must notice the partial amends that Akbar made for his sin of the slaughter of Chitor by having executed the statues of the two heroic sons of Chitor, Jai Mall and Patta, mounted on elephants, which were set up at each side of the main gate at Agra. These statues were afterwards removed to Delhi by the order of Shah Jahan. The erection of these statues expressed the great respect that the emperor naturally felt for the character of those two valiant defenders of the sacred soil of their motherland. As has been well observed by the famous traveller Bernier, "There are the brave heroes, who, with their still braver mother, immortalised their names by the extraordinary resistance which they offered to the celebrated Akbar: who defended the towns, besieged by that great emperor, with unshaken resolution, and who, at length reduced to extremity, devoted themselves to their country and chose rather to perish with their mother in sallies against the enemy than submit to an insolent invader. It is owing to this extraordinary devotion on their part, that their enemies have thought them deserving of the statues here erected to their memory. These two large elephants, mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect which I cannot describe."

The history of the uncompromising resistance offered to the imperial arms by Rana Partap Singh is best told in the glowing language of Colonel Tod from whose account we can clearly understand the intensity of feeling which

led the Rana to oppose the resources of a small principality against the then most powerful empire of the world. As Mr Vincent Smith puts it, none but the bravest of the brave could have dared to match the chivalry of poverty-stricken Mewar against the glittering hosts of rich Hindostan. We make the following extracts from the immortal pages of Tod

“Partap,” we are told, “succeeded in (1572) to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources his kindred and clans dispirited by reverses yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Chitor, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its powers. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist, nor stooped to calculate the means which are opposed to him. Accustomed to read in his country’s annals the splendid deeds of his fore-fathers, and that Chitor had more than once been the prison of their foes, he trusted that the revolutions of fortune might co-operate with his own efforts to overthrow the unstable throne of Delhi. The reasoning was as just as it was noble; but whilst he gave loose rein to those lofty aspirations which meditated liberty to Mewar, his crafty opponent was counteracting his views by a scheme of policy which, when disclosed, filled his heart with anguish! The wily Mogul arrayed against Partap his kindred in faith as well as blood. The Princes of Marwar, Amber, Bikanir, and even Bundi, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother, Sagarji, deserted him and received,

as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race and the title which that possession conferred. But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Partap, who vowed in the words of the bard, "to make his mother's milk resplendent"; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the empire; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills and rearing the nursing hero, Amar, amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that "the son of Bappa Rawal should bow the head to mortal man" was unsupportable; and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family with the Tartar, though lord of countless multitudes. Partap was nobly supported, and though wealth and fortune tempted the fidelity of his chiefs, not one of them was found base enough to abandon him.

"With the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Partap remodelled his Government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued with regulations defining the service required. Kumbhalmer, now the seat of Government, was strengthened as well as Gogunda and other mountain fortresses; and, being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile

tracts watered by the Banas and the Beris from the Aravalli chain to the eastern table-land were '*be churagh*', "without a lamp" The range to which Partap was restricted was the mountainous region around, though chiefly to the west of the new capital (Udaipur), from north to south Kumbhalmer to "Ricumnath" — about 80 miles in length; and in breadth from Mirpur west to Satolla east, about the same"

The spirit of defiance of Mogul authority which inspired Rana Partap is illustrated by a typical story related by the bards that, when Raja Man Singh of Jaipur sought an interview with Rana Partap Singh, the latter refused to receive him in person or eat with him who was a traitor to his country according to his opinion. It seems that Raja Man Singh reported the fact of this insult to the emperor which was really an insult to him but it is not necessary to refer to such stories to explain why Akbar was determined to crush Chitor. The fact is, as Mr. Vincent Smith finally puts it, 'the Rana's patriotism was his offence'. Having won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his diplomacy and conciliatory policy, Akbar could not reconcile himself to the attitude of independence assumed by the Rana who must be broken if he would not bend. Thus the campaign of 1576 was opened to ruin the Rana or to crush his claims to stand outside of Akbar's imperial system.

The first terrible fight was however disastrous to the cause of liberty. A bloody battle was fought at the pass of Haldighat where Partap posted himself with the flower of Mewar, numbering 3,000 horsemen, and glorious was

the struggle for its maintenance. Clan after clan followed with desperate intrepidity, emulating the daring of their prince who led the crimson banner into the hottest part of the field but this desperate valour was unavailing against such a force, with numerous field artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels; and of 22,000 Rajputs assembled that day for the defence of Haldighat, only 8,000 quitted the field alive'

The battle raged from early morning to mid-day and was lost by the Rana. who, being wounded, fled to the hills mounted on his beloved steed Chaitak. He was not pursued by his exhausted victors. Partap was obliged to retire to a remote fortress called Chaond and his strong places, one by one, fell into the enemy's hands, but later on he recovered all Mewar excepting Chitor, Ajmeer, Mandalgarh. During the later years of his life, Akbar left him alone from sheer inability to continue an active campaign in Rajputana as he was compelled for other reasons to reside in the Punjab for 13 years. In 1597 Partap died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should be worthy of his father. 'Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory' says Tod 'is even now idolized by every Sisodia'. 'Had Mewar,' he continues, 'possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the "Ten Thousand" would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which "keeps

honour bright," perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and fervour of religious zeal: all however insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind."

In closing this episode, Mr. Vincent Smith concludes that "the historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition, seldom have a word of sympathy to spare for the gallant foes whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. The vanquished, it may be, were greater than the victor".

[Authorities.—V. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*; Tod's *Rajasthan*, Abul-Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*.]

18. Chand Sultana, Queen of the Deccan.

CHAND BIBI belongs to that noble fellowship of women that have demonstrated to the world that they do not suffer by comparison with those of the other sex, who claim certain qualities to be their own proud possession and, what is more, she combines in herself the fiery patriotism of Joan of Arc, the political sagacity of Elizabeth, the courage of Augustiana and the love of peaceful arts and literature of Catherine-de-Medici. "Few in England" says Meadows Taylor, "know that the contemporary of our queen Elizabeth in the Deccan kingdoms was a woman of equal ability, of equal political talent, of equal, though in a different sense,

education and accomplishments, who ruled over a realm as large, and as intelligent and as rich as England ; a woman who, surrounded by jealous enemies, preserved, by her own personal valour and endurance, her kingdom from destruction and partition : who through all temptations and exercise of absolute power, was at once simple, generous, frank, and merciful, as she was chaste, virtuous, religious, and charitable — one who, among all the women of India, stands out as a jewel without flaw and beyond price”.

Chand Bibi, born in 1545, was the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, one of the five kingdoms which arose after the disruption of the Bahmani kingdom in 1489. The rival Hindu power of Vijayanagar, gaining strength by the break up of the once powerful Bahmani kingdom, hurled many an insult at its off-shoots. But it was not long before the wisdom of the old adage “United we stand, divided we fall” was realized and the relations between these kingdoms were cemented by intermarriages, which ended mutual jealousy and internecine wars, and which at last helped to the Muslim supremacy of the Deccan by the crushing defeat inflicted on Vijayanagar at the battle of Talikota in 1565. One of these intermarriages was that of Chand Bibi with king Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, who in his turn married his sister to the Prince Royal of Ahmadnagar.

Chand Bibi's marriage did not stand in the way of her further attainments — her education proceeded as at her father's. She mastered Arabic the sacred language of the Koran and Persian the language of the court, and could speak Turkish, Kanarese and Maharatti and other South

Indian languages with perfect ease. She was a good painter and could also sing Persian sonnets and Hindu ballads, and could play on Veena too. She was her husband's right arm as much in war and sport as in the administration of the kingdom. Her share in the settlement of the territories newly acquired after the fall of Vijayanagar as in the various measures of peace which her husband had initiated was by no means small.

The death of Ali Adil Shah in 1580 opened a new chapter in her life, and during the minority of his nephew and successor Ibrahim, the queen, appointed regent by her husband's will, assumed the sole direction of affairs in the name of the minor king. Her task was no light one. There were two principal parties at the court, the Abyssinians and the Deccanees, each vying with the other for dominance, and what was worse the minister of either party when once secure in his position, would aim, for reasons quite obvious, at undermining the queen's influence and sowing seeds of discord between the king and the queen Regent. Matters went so far that owing to the intrigue of one of the ministers and the helplessness of the young king, the queen was sent to and interned at Satara. But the love the people bore her was very intense and the treacherous minister was not spared long to reap the fruits of his machinations. He met with a deserved fate. And Chand Bibi returned to resume her office. Yet the rivalry between the two parties referred to, had weakened the kingdom, and finding Bijapur afflicted with domestic dissensions, the neighbouring kings of Bidar, Golkonda, and Ahmadnagar

invaded it. But Chand Bibi offered a heroic resistance, the precursor of the two still more notable defences which she directed later in life. She by her presence and words, and what is more, by her example, inspired the limited garrison of the fort with hope and faith, and the invaders were utterly defeated.

Till 1585 the queen had not only to steer the ship of the state but to attend personally to the education of the minor king. She would take her seat behind the young king at Public Durbars, exchange opinion with ministers at councils, and attend to all the details of administration. When the king came to age and her services were no longer required, she proposed to return to Ahmadnagar, her native place, and spend her remaining days in peace, away from the heat and turmoil of active political life. But the atmosphere there was not such as she expected. The city of her birth witnessed a series of revolutions,—one king wading to the throne through the blood of another,—which need not be here described. Disheartened by the state of affairs at her father's capital, which she had no power to control and direct, she returned to Bijapur in utter disgust.

At this time Akbar was the Emperor of Delhi and he had sent ambassadors to the Sultanates of Bijapur, Golkonda, and Ahmadnagar, demanding formal recognition of his suzerainty and promise of tribute. The demands, Ferishta says, were politely evaded, for what had they to do with Delhi? The failure of his envoys suggested to Akbar the other course, *viz.*, war. Ahmadnagar was the nearest to the Mogul boundaries and it had, therefore, to bear the brunt.

Moreover, the unhappy state of affairs at Ahmadnagar continued. The streets of the city were scenes of perpetual bloody engagements between members of opposing factions, and in 1594 the two parties wanted to instal each its own nominee on the throne. The leader of the party supporting the weaker of the two claimants, finding his ground unstable sought the aid of Prince Murad, a son of Akbar, then Governor of Gujarat. The looked-for-opportunity was embraced, the invitation was accepted with alacrity, and with 30,000 strong, Prince Murad marched on to Ahmadnagar. It was now past all doubt that Ahmadnagar would become a part and parcel of the Mogul empire. The foolish minister who had invited Murad was now repentant of his irredeemable mistake, and Ahmadnagar torn and distracted by internal broils was pitifully helpless.

It was now perceived that no one could save Ahmadnagar but Chand Bibi and she was by common consent elected the leader. At Bijapur, the queen had withdrawn herself from public life, though now and then, when her advice was sought, she had readily given. Now, when the cry for help came she could tarry no longer. True she was already fifty, true the forces at Ahmadnagar compared meanly with the enemy, but she would go. The call of duty was readily responded to. What consideration could weigh with her? She, indeed, longed for rest for thought and meditation on sublimer themes; but could she brook "to leave her home the haunt of slaves"? If she should win, she would save Ahmadnagar; and if she should die, that is the will of God, and who can resist it?

So Chand Bibi marched towards Ahmadnagar never to return to the land of her adoption. She was received very warmly by all the functionaries who pledged their devotion to her. Letters soliciting aid were at once despatched to Bijapur and Golkonda, and by a bloodless revolution, one of the candidates to the throne, Bahadur Shah, was placed on it on ground of superior claims and queen Chand became his regent.

The first move on the queen's part on the assumption of office was to write to Prince Murad, appealing to him as a son of Emperor Akbar, to revise his intentions, and offering him a royal welcome as an honoured guest. If the Prince chose not to swerve, she conveyed to him that he would have before him the prospect of a formidable opposition, aided by the force of the neighbouring kingdoms.

But the Prince was in no mood to abandon his cherished idea. He knew Bijapur and Golkonda were sending their quota of help and he purposed a quick march to prevent junction. Meanwhile the queen, convinced that the Prince was resolute, began to prepare for a long siege. The walls of the fort were repaired, provisions and ammunitions were stored, and every piece of artillery was thoroughly inspected and put in proper condition. The queen with wonderful energy personally inspected all operations as they were proceeding.

The Mogul army first routed the advance wing of the Bijapur force which was sent to hold their cavalry in check, and marching within sight of the city, entrenched

itself and the siege commenced. The Ahmadnagar artillery was more powerful than the Mogul and it wrought terrible havoc among the enemy. The prince attempted to cause a breach but the strong walls resisted his efforts, except a stone broken here and a stone displaced there, there was no serious damage caused. Nor was an assault possible. Now there was one device by which success could be achieved. This, as suggested by Prince Murad, was by laying mines at four or five principal positions. The provisions were running short, and there was the fear of the Bijapur army, stationed at a place called Nuldroog, attacking them from the rear, which event would necessitate the raising of the siege.

Accordingly five mines were laid under the bastions of the fort. It was no easy task. The soil was rocky. But after a long duration of apparent inactivity, the work was secretly completed. The following day was fixed for exploding the mines. But luckily a friendly voice warned the defenders of the impending danger. The men, on hearing this, lost heart, but the voice of the queen was heard, "Shall we who are unhurt, and have victory in our grasp if we persevere, give up our swords, or like frightened women betake ourselves to the feet of the invader and beg for our lives? Shall we with arms in our hands cease to use them to protect all dear to us? Your women and children, O my sons, will hardly thank you for abandoning them to the brutal violence of the Mogul soldiers. Behold, I am but a woman, and a weak one; but I leave not this spot with my life; come what may, I rely upon the most just

lord to deliver us and you all from this tyranny. Away, bring up the miners ; we know the places, so there is no doubt Bring tools and set to work I would rather tear up the earth with my weak fingers than suffer this danger to exist, when we have still time and means to avert ' The response readily came "We shall not desert you, O mother, we shall die if it be God's will, but we shall not yield."

The work proceeded the whole night, the queen herself setting an example by assisting the rest with a pick-axe in her hand. Three of the five mines were discovered and the remaining two yet undiscovered exploded the following morning causing a breach of 50 yards A scene of utter dismay was witnessed in the fort. Some of the officers and some of the rank and file of the garrison fled in different directions, others prepared themselves for a last fight The queen mounted her horse with a drawn sword in hand and a thin green* veil on her face. She cried "Whither would you fly, O sons and brothers ? To the plain yonder to perish by the sword of the enemies ? Nay, for your honour's sake, desert me not now, and to the latest day of the Deccan your deeds shall be sung by bards and minstrels. See, we, women blench not from the storm. We shall die rather than yield, while we have life. To the breach, my friends with me ; who will follow me ? Behold, it will lead you to honour ; if to death, never to infamy. If we die, we shall sip the nectar of paradise ere night". Who could resist this appeal ? The response was immediate. The most

* Green is the Islamic colour.

effective pieces of artillery were placed near the breach, the most skilful soldiers were stationed there, and in short, all necessary preparations were made. The Moguls marched to the breach in huge numbers but they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. This scene of terrible destruction lasted the whole day and at the approach of night the Prince stopped his operations in shame. The respite the night allowed was well utilized. For to quote again our authority, "during the night the queen stood by the workmen and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet before day-light with wood, stones, earth, and carcasses", and early morning the fort appeared to the besiegers as intact as ever.

Prince Murad's attempt proved futile, the only outcome was the loss of thousands of lives. He sent an offer of peace expressing admiration of the queen's heroic part in the defence and promised to retire if Berar was ceded. The queen was really loath to be a party to such a treaty when success was nearly in view; but her advisers urged cessation of hostilities. The provisions and ammunition in the fort were running short. The Bijapur army was of no real help beyond that of cutting off the enemy's supplies to some extent. Further, the newly constructed wall at the breach was not proof against the enemy's guns. The terms offered were therefore accepted and peace was purchased by the cession of Berar.

Thus was Ahmadnagar saved in 1596 at this battle of the "Standard of the veil". Who will grudge the meed of praise to this heroic soul that, with comparatively a handful

of men, so bravely resisted the army of the great Mogul ? Chand Bibi proved by her conduct that not only Rajputs but Muslim women also could on occasions be the bravest of the brave

The queen's nephew, king Ibrahim of Bijapur, wished her to return. But she had still work to do though of a different nature. Chand Bibi so active in times of war, was no less so in times of peace. She turned at once to heal the sore that afflicted the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The internal differences were made up for the time being, and, the administration was reformed. New revenue survey and settlement was carried out and the revenue collected was more than ample.

But the inordinate desire of the ministers for personal aggrandizement, again proved fatal to the kingdom. The queen had appointed one Mahomed Khan minister. He showed his ingratitude to her by trying to undermine her authority, but with the help of the Bijapur army she overcame him and rendered him harmless. But he had invited Khan Khanan, Akbar's famous general, to come and assist him — a repetition of the same blunder that had brought about the first siege of Ahmadnagar. Emperor Akbar who was watching the disturbances in the south, now led in person an army for the conquest of Ahmadnagar.

Chand Sultana's position now was much weaker. There were no allied troops to help her, after the crushing defeat the Mogul army had inflicted on Bijapur cavalry which had attempted to check the Mogul advance. Many of

the tried generals of the queen were either dead or away. The Mogul General, Khan Khanan, with his experience of the first siege advised mining. Though the fort had been thoroughly repaired and put in a position of defence, it was not proof against mines. Still preparations had been made for a siege of six months. The queen, though despondent, from the beginning of the siege, did not fail in her duty of going from post to post cheering her people and animating them with confidence. She was urged by her faithful and loyal advisers to depart with the infant king from the fort, leaving it to the soldiery to hold out for a while with a view to an honourable peace. But the queen would not desert her men to save her own life. No doubt the safety of the young king would be jeopardised, but she would not be false to those that had trusted her. "I am prepared for death if it should come, but not for flight and dishonour". Come what might, she would not go but die with those who were prepared to die for her.

At last, when there was not the least hope of success, she in accordance with advice offered to her, proposed to hand over the fort to the besiegers on condition of the army being allowed to pass out with all their effects. But a traitor in the camp, tempted by Mogul gold, misrepresented her to the people and proclaimed that she intended betraying them to the enemy. A temporary madness seized the soldiery, who in the heat of the excitement rushed to the palace and Hamud Khan — so was the traitor's name — made a mean attempt on the queen's life and his benefactress fell at his hands.

When the cloud of excitement passed away as suddenly as it had appeared, the fatal mistake was realized and the traitor was killed. But it was too late. Before Chand Bibi's proposal to surrender the fort could be sent to the enemy, the mines under the walls of the fort exploded and the huge Mogul army entered the fort. Dreadful carnage ensued. The infant king was captured and sent to the fortress of Gwalior.

Ahmadnagar was not finally subdued by this fighting till 1601, though Akbar gave it the rank of a 'Suba' of the Mogul Empire. But the memory of Chand Bibi still survives and will survive as long as admiration for great deeds survives in the human heart

Authorities :—

- (1) Ferishta's History (Urdu translation, Nawal Kishore Press)
- (2) History of the Great Moguls, Vol I.
- (3) Meadows Taylor's 'A noble queen'. Kennedy.

19. Nur Jahan Begum.

THE past history of India offers innumerable examples of noble heroism displayed by women. The days before the advent of the British were full of incidents in which not only men but women of all communities to a greater or less extent participated and attracted the admiration of the world. The names of Razia, Chand Bibi and Durgavati will remain imperishable in the pages of Indian History. Nur Jahan also was one of such women; her life was a series of hazards and adventures.

There is a halo of romance about her birth happening as it did in a wild forest, when her parents in greatly straitened circumstances were on their way to India. Her birth the utter helplessness of her parents, her committal to the tender mercies of the dwellers of the forest, her rescue from certain death by a caravan, the recovery of the child by the parents, and her admission to the palace during Akbar's reign, need not detain us long here. But it is needful to mention here that she had the advantage in the palace, of all the instruction and training which was given to princesses. Thus equipped she was prepared to play a heroic part during Jahangir's reign.

It was her marriage with Jahangir, an event fraught with immense consequences for the empire, that gave wider scope for her activities. For, Nur Jahan became the emperor's companion not only in the calm atmosphere of the capital but also in wars and out-door sports. She was a very skilful rider and one of the best musketeers of her time. She invariably accompanied the emperor in his tours and campaigns and two or three incidents in which she distinguished herself by her calmness, courage and skill are recorded by Jahangir in his "Tazak". Once when he was in camp, he relates, "as the huntsmen had marked down four tigers when two watches and three 'Gharis' had passed, I went out to shoot them with my ladies. When the tigers came in sight, Nur Jahan Begum submitted that if I would order her she would kill the tigers by her gun. I said 'let it be so' ! She shot two tigers with one shot each and knocked over the other two with four shots. (In the twinkling

of the eye she deprived of life the bodies of four tigers. Until now such shooting was never seen, that from the top of an elephant and inside of a howdah six shots should be made and not one miss, so that the four beasts found no opportunity to spring or move. As a reward for this good shooting I gave her a pair of bracelets of diamonds worth one lakh of rupees and scattered a thousand 'Ashrafis' over her." A poet is said to have recited the impromptu couplet -

' Though Nur Jahan be in form a woman,
In ranks of men she's tiger slayer".

On another occasion, when the emperor was in camp near Muttra it was represented to him that there was in the neighbourhood a tiger that greatly troubled and injured the ryots and way-farers. Jahangir went out to shoot, but as he had vowed that he would not shoot any living thing with his own hands — a vow made in the transient fit of religious emotion — Nur Jahan was asked to shoot. "An elephant" says Jahangir "is not at ease when it smells a tiger, and is continually in movement, and with a gun from a litter is a very difficult matter, in so much that Mirza Rustum*, who after me is unequalled in shooting, has several times missed two or three shots from an elephant" "Yet Nur Jahan Begum" concludes the royal chronicler, "so hit the tiger with one shot that it was immediately killed".

Nur Jahan's gifts were varied and many. To nature's bounteous endowment of sharp intelligence and shrewd

*Note.—As to Mirza Rustum tradition says that he could shoot a bird in utter darkness of night, guided merely by its sound.

common sense was added a training and instruction of a very high order; and, indeed "She was remarkable for her accomplishments and her abilities". She could compose extempore verses with great facility and had acquired great skill in music, painting, embroidery, not to speak of shooting and riding

It was by these, and by no personal beauty ('For she was no longer young in 1610 and Indian widows of thirty-four are usually widows indeed') that she captured Jahangir. It is not surprising, therefore, that her influence over the emperor was as great as the most ambitious of her sex could desire. Evidences of this influence are commonly adduced in books on history, and suffice it to say here that Jahangir "took no step without consulting her, and on every affair in which she took an interest her will was law". This confidence was well-merited, for there was no political or administrative problem which she could not successfully tackle.

Muhammad Hadi, who completed Jahangir's memoirs, writes "Nur Jahan won golden opinions from all people. She was liberal and just to all who begged for her support. She was a refuge to all sufferers; helpless girls were married at the expense of her private purse and thousands were grateful for her generosity". To all these qualities of head, heart and hand add a very fine æsthetic taste and we get a type of Indian womanhood so grand and so admirable.

Her releasing Jahangir from captivity or perchance death, reveals her in true light. We find here a woman completely

* Note.—She is credited with having originated "Ittar-i-Gulab (essence of roses)"

devoted to her husband and of courage equal to any occasion. There was in the emperor's service a general of tried mettle by name Mahabat Khan. He fell into the queen's disfavour and historians are not agreed as to its cause. He was accused of excesses in Bengal and called to the court to show cause why he should not be punished, Mahabat scented danger and knew that the charges were lodged by the queen. He, therefore, marched with 5,000 Rajputs and seized the emperor at an opportune moment when on the point of crossing the river Behat (Hydaspes), he was separated from his guard. Nur Jahan apprised of this, disguised herself, entered a common palanquin, and crossed the bridge unhindered by the Rajputs who were stationed to guard it. Once on the other side of the river, she summoned all the Emperor's Generals and arraigned them thus : "This has all happened on account of your neglect and stupid arrangements ; what never entered into the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil and advise what course to pursue". Then they all vowed to save their master from captivity. The bridge had been burnt down. But she could not be daunted. Early morning marshalling her husband's army she attempted to ford the river and rescue Jahangir. "A scene of universal tumult and confusion followed ; the ford was choked with horses and elephants ; some fell and were trampled under foot, others sank in the pools and were unable to regain the shore ; and numbers plunged into the river and ran the chance of making good

their passage or being swept away by the stream. The most serious attack was directed on Nur Jahan ; her elephant was surrounded by a number of Rajputs ; her guards were overpowered and cut down at its feet , balls and arrows fell thick round her howdah, and one of the latter wounded the infant daughter of Shahryar (her grand-daughter) who was seated in her lap. At length her driver was killed ; and her elephant having received a cut on the proboscis dashed into the river and soon sank in deep water and was carried down the stream. After several plunges it swam out and reached the shore, where Nur Jahan was surrounded by her women, who came shrieking and lamenting and found her howdah stained with blood, and herself busy extracting the arrow and dressing up the wound of the infant". The bold attempt failed , and at last helpless, she insisted on sharing her husband's captivity. But this was not long. By her tact she won over the army and Mahabat submitted.

Nur Jahan's active life began with her marriage with Jahangir and ended with his death. Though she survived her royal consort for twenty years, they were days of rigid seclusion, and at last in 1646 she was gathered with the dead by her husband's side at Lahore, in the Mausoleum which she had constructed in her life time.

Authorities :—

- (1) 'Memoirs of Jahangir', translated by Roger and Beveridge.
- (2) Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI.

- (3) Gabrielle Frestings "When kings rode to Delhi '.
 - (4) Dr Allen India, ancient and modern
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20. Abdur Razzak of Golkonda.

AURANGZEB'S siege of Golkonda was the occasion for the display of much heroism on both sides. At first Abul Hasan, the king of Golkonda, sent to Aurangzeb his overtures for peace, but when these were rejected, he had no alternative but to fight. The Mogul army took ground at gun-shot distance from Golkonda and began their siege of operations. Abul Hasan had 40 or 50 thousand horse outside the walls with whom the Moguls had frequent encounters, while the sharp fire of guns and rockets was kept up from fortifications. Some distinguished officers of Aurangzeb's army and many men were lost on both sides. Day by day and week by week the approaches to the fort were pushed forward under the direction of Ghaziuddin Firoz Jang, the commander of the Mogul force. But these operations were resisted with great daring by the besieged under the command of Abdur Razzak, who was the real hero of the occasion. What added immensely to the difficulties of the task of the defenders was the unfaithfulness of some of the Musalman nobles of the garrison. After one sharp encounter in which the sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, some of the nobles at once deserted the cause of Abul Hasan as being a desperate one and went over to the besiegers. Aurangzeb of course was not the man to miss this opportunity of "sowing seeds

of disension in the enemy's camp. He granted to the deserters suitable mansabs and titles and they on their part exerted themselves to the utmost for the reduction of the fortress. Of all the nobles of Abul Hasan, the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place and who sacrificed his very life for his master was the heroic Abdur Razzak,—“Alone among the faithless, faithful only he”

The siege was protracted for a long time and from the immense stores of ammunition in the fortress, an unintermitting discharge was kept up night and day from the gates and towers and walls, of cannon balls, bullets, rockets and other fiery missiles. The smoke arising from this constant firing removed the distinction of day and night. The assailants however were equally obstinate and rose to the full height of the occasion. In the course of a month and some days their lines were carried up to the very edge of the ditch that went round the walls of the fort and orders were issued for filling it up. It is said Aurangzeb himself sewed the seams of the first cotton bag to be filled with earth and thrown into the moat. High mounds were raised and heavy guns were placed upon them and pointed against the fortress. Their heavy fire greatly harassed the defenders. But what added to the troubles of the besiegers was the extreme scarcity and dearth of grain and fodder within the city and the pinch was felt by all the rich men, while the misery of the poor and the needy was indescribable. At the same time the Maratha allies of Golkonda hovered round the Imperial forces and cut off the supplies of grain. Pestilence

at last broke out in the Mogul army and carried off many men. Others unable to bear the pangs of hunger and wretchedness went over to Abul Hasan and some even treacherously rendered aid to the besiegers in order to get out of their perilous position somehow. Thus the desertions on both sides counterbalanced each other. Aurangzeb soon saw that the siege could not be protracted long. It had already lasted three months, when it was resolved to make a final and desperate attempt to take the place by surprise by night by means of scaling ladders and ropes. A few brave soldiers did indeed succeed in ascending the ramparts. But the barking of a dog gave the alarm and the defenders rushed to the walls and soon despatched those who had got to the top. They also threw down the ladders and so made an end of those who were mounting. Others opened fire. When the leaders of the storming party gained the summit of the ramparts, one of Aurangzeb's servants ran off to report their success without waiting to see the result of the enterprise. Aurangzeb on receiving this report ordered the drums of victory to be beaten and even ordered out his royal equipage and State dress. Next day spies reported that Abul Hasan gave the dog a gold collar and plated chain and other ornaments and ordered that the dog should be kept chained near to himself. To add to the obstacles of the besiegers, heavy rain fell for three days and destroyed many of their works. Thus nature herself seemed to co-operate with the enemy, who had also their courage doubled and made a sortie in great force in which they worked great havoc, killed many men and took

prisoners some of the imperial army. Abul Hasan treated his prisoners with due honour and hospitality. To prevent any slaughter of the Musalmans, he even offered terms to Aurangzeb. But Aurangzeb treated them with contempt and replied —

“ If Abdur Razzak does not repudiate my authority, he must come to me with clasped hands or he must be brought bound before me. I will then consider what consideration I can show to him.”

He also issued orders for the preparation of 50,000 bags of cotton and for other materials for carrying on the siege and filling up the moat. Afterwards a triple mine was driven under the bastion of the fortress and charged with gunpowder. Orders were also given that a force should be collected in the lines as if about to make an attack upon the undermined work, so that the enemy might observe this and assemble his men there. The mines were then to be fired. Abdur Razzak, however, observing this gave orders for countermining. His men pushed their work with such skill that they drew the powder and match from one mine and poured water into the other two. When the imperial troops collected for the assault and the signal was given, only one mine exploded blowing up the external part of the bastion which did more injury to the besiegers than to the besieged. For the powder on the inner side of the bastion was already extracted or spoiled by water. The garrison took this opportunity of making a sally with great success. The second mine was also exploded in a similar

way and thousands of stones that were hurled into the air only fell upon the heads of the besiegers. Aurangzeb was very much incensed at the ill-success of the siege and ordered the assault to be made under his own eyes. There was great valour shown. But again Nature helped the other side. A storm of wind and rain arose and the besiegers were forced to fall back. The garrison made a timely sally to take possession of the trenches, spiked the heavy guns on the mounting of which immense money and labour had been expended and carried away all that was portable. They pulled out of the moat, the logs of wood and the many thousands of bags of earth which had been used to fill it up and used them to repair the breaches made by the mines. The third mine was sprung in the presence of Aurangzeb, but when fire was applied nothing resulted.

At last something else came to the assistance of Aurangzeb more than the courage and obstinacy of his men. Treason succeeded where heroism failed. Money and promises sometimes help to break down bastions more easily than mines and assaults. One of the nobles of Abul Hasan made secret overtures to Aurangzeb when the siege had lasted full eight months against a city that was doubly fortified by external means of defence as well as internal means, the heroic spirit of the defenders. But there was a black sheep in the fold. The traitor agreed to open one of the gates of the city for the admission of the enemy. Aurangzeb frequently tried this shady method to corrupt Abdur Razzak with promises of honour and other regal favours,

but that noble, taking no heed of his own interest and life, in a most contemptuous manner exhibited the emperor's letter to the men in his bastion and tore it to pieces in their presence, and sent his own message by the spy who had brought it to say that he would fight to the death like the horsemen who fought with Imam Husam at Karbala. The besieged continued to show great resolution in pushing on the siege. They cast into the ditches thousands of bags filled with dirt and rubbish and thousands of carcasses of animals and men who had perished during the operation. Several times the assailants climbed up to the top of the walls, but were discomfited by the vigilance of the besieged. At last after a siege of eight months and ten days, the place was reduced not by force of sword and spear but by force of something else. In the last watch of a dark night, not darker than the traitor's heart, at a signal from one of the garrison, a handful of besiegers entered the fortress by means of ladders. Then they went to the gate and opened it, raising the cry of victory. The moment this was heard by Abdur Razzak, he sprang upon his horse without a saddle, with sword in one hand, a shield in the other and accompanied by 10 or 12 followers rushed to the open gate through which the imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into the sea or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him and he

received so many wounds from swords and spears that there was hardly any whole space in his body from top to toe. The horse carried him to a garden near by, where he lay helpless till his own men, hearing of this, came and dressed his wounds. When Aurangzeb however came to know of his condition, he at once ordered that two surgeons, one a European and the other a Hindu, should be sent to attend the wounded man and they were instructed to make daily reports of the patient's health to Aurangzeb. The emperor also publicly made a remark that if Abul Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like Abdur Razzak, it would have taken much longer time to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that he had had nearly seventy wounds besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. After several days' treatment, when there was a hope of recovery, Aurangzeb sent a message to him in which he expressed his desire to grant honours to his sons. The only reply which that devoted and peerless hero sent to the message was that, if he should be ever capable of service, he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abul Hasan and had thriven on his bounty could enter the service of Aurangzeb.

[Elliot's History of India as told by her own historians].

21. Sivaji.

THE history of India shows how in the making of the culture and civilization of the country, all its constituents have been called upon to play their part and make their

own contributions. No single province can claim the monopoly of making that history. The centre of life has changed from province to province, and the whole mass has been vitalized by the peculiar inspiration of each. The home of the earliest Vedic culture was between the Indus and the Saraswati, the Ganga and the Yamuna. In the next age, it was in the middle country, the whole land of Kurukshetra and Madhyadesa. The Vedic culture migrated eastwards towards Videha, Kosala and Kasi. Magadha became the headquarters of the Hindu civilization of the historical period that opens with the Sisunagas, the Nandas and the Mauryas. Then it was the turn of the south to play its part in the making of India and thus arose the Andhras. After a time the centre of Indian life shifts towards the far north. Peshawar becomes the great focus of Indian culture and politics under the Kushan king, Kanishka, who, though a foreigner, was completely assimilated by the country he conquered. The life of Hinduism was dead in one province only to revive in another. Phoenix-like, it was rising from its ashes with renewed youth and vitality. It seems as if the characteristic Hindu theory of re-birth and re-incarnation is as true of nations as of individuals. Differently located were the life-centres of India under the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Guptas or under Harshavardhana or Pulakeshin. Even during the darkest days of the early Muhammadan invasions, the genius of the race chose its own places where it might utter itself and overcome opposition. The rise and growth of the Vijayanagar empire from its capital on the banks of Thungabhadra bore testimony to

the unextinguished vitality of the Hindu race and of its virile civilization. But it seemed as if the race reached its doom at the fateful battle of Talikota in 1565 which spelt the final overthrow of that mighty political organization of the Hindus. There was however soon to be seen another great re-birth of the nation. At a centre somewhat more northern, the fall of Vijayanagar was completely avenged by the peace that Sivaji dictated to Bijapur just a hundred years later in 1665, and by his establishment of a new Hindu Empire with its capital Raigad.

This new Hindu power, it may be said, owed its origin chiefly to the opportunities afforded by the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan. The Deccan, under the several Muhammadan States, gave full scope to the Hindus which was of the greatest possible advantage to the growth of the Maratta nation. In Bijapur service flourished the main branches of the Maratta nobility, the Mores, the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, the Ghorpades, and the Daphles, in the services of Ahmadnagar flourished the Jadvys and the Bhonsles who gave Sivaji to India.

The task of organizing a people of peasants into a nation of warriors and giving a definite political mission to work out is of no ordinary kind. It has been given to very few individuals in the history of the human race to be the makers of their people or to create new nations. Sivaji was undoubtedly one of these few. He was literally the maker of the Maratta nation; and his talents were well adapted to this superhuman task.

The truth of the poet's saying "childhood shows the man, as morning shows the day" was very well proved in the case of Sivaji, whose early career contained within itself the seeds of his future greatness. But the greatness of the boy was due as much to his native potentialities as to the environment and influences that surrounded him. The circumstances surrounding the very birth and boyhood of Sivaji are hardly less extraordinary and romantic than those marking the early life of the great emperor Akbar, who was born in the inhospitable desert of Sindh at Amarkot, when his disrowned father was a fugitive for his very life. There are several stories current in which it is stated that the boy was so called, because he was believed to be an incarnation of the God Siva. The Shedgavkar Bakhar relates how when Shahji was too much engrossed in the military duties entrusted to him by his chief, Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar, to pay his wife much conjugal attention, he dreamt that a mango fruit was put in his hand by a Hindu saint with the words, "Share the fruit with your wife and you will become the father of a son, who will be the incarnation of the God Siva. You must never force him to salute a Musalman and after his twelfth year, you must leave him free to act as he pleases." Shahji, it is said, awoke from his dream to find the mango fruit in his hand. The boy thus born was accordingly called Sivaji. He was born at a time when his father by his refusal to join the Moguls incurred their bitter hostility. Sivaji was born in the fort of Savaneri where his mother had been left by Shahji when he had just escaped from Dowlatabad, which

was being invested by the Mogul forces. After varying fortunes Shahji made peace with Shah Jehan and returned to his employment at Bijapur.

Sivaji was now a lad of ten years, but even at this early age, he showed signs of what his future career was to be at the court of Adil Shah. He is said to have made a public protest when he saw some Musalman butchers driving cattle to the slaughter-house, and he also refused to bow to the king of Bijapur in the manner required by the etiquette of the court. In all this, we may take it that the boy was instigated by his mother, a proud, patriotic and determined woman, who is said to have refused to allow Sivaji to be married at Bijapur, 'lest the Muhammadans might defile the ceremony by their presence'. Shahji, afraid lest his unruly boy might ruin his future prospects, was obliged to send him with his mother out of Bijapur to his fief of Poona and Supa.

His life at Poona was a turning point in Sivaji's career and character. The real maker of Sivaji was the trusted Brahman officer, Dadaji Konadev, whom his father appointed to the management of the estates. Poona provided for the young boy the most congenial atmosphere for his wholesome growth on the lines required for the mission he was born to execute. It was, however, then a barren wilderness, being included in the general devastation inflicted upon the entire Deccan by the constant wars between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, between the Bijapur and the Moguls, and between Malik Amber and Shahji. Shahji's

private fief was practically depopulated. It was indeed a difficult problem to revive the estate. But Jijibai and Dadaji Konadev rose superior to all difficulty by their sheer ability and under their efficient administration the fief was revived by attracting cultivators from the hills through the offer of rent-free lands. Crops were secured against robbers and free-booters by arming bands of these hill men. It was under such conditions that the boy Sivaji was reared up. He had had already enough experience of hardships. When separated from his father's protection, he had to live for years hidden in woods and caves to avoid capture. The pictures of Sivaji that have come down to us depict a face that speaks eloquently of the troubles bravely borne and dangers triumphantly surmounted.

His early education under Dadaji Konadev laid the foundation of his future greatness. Poona itself was then a great centre of Brahmanical learning, where the boy lived, moved and had his being in the atmosphere of a rigid, uncompromising and aggressive Hinduism. The boy was specially fed upon the stories and teachings of noted saints of Pandharpur and upon the tales of Bhima the strong, of the archer Arjuna, of the chivalrous courage of Yudhis-tira or upon the wise sayings of Bhishma, conveying the highest lessons in war, statesmanship and Government. Over and above this was the strong influence of his mother. "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." Jijibai separated from her husband and her eldest son, concentrated all her affection upon Sivaji of whose tender mind she

constantly impressed the memory of his illustrious pedigree by which he could claim descent both from the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Ranas of Udaipur. She also recited to him the Puranas with their marvellous feats of war and daring. One of the most romantic stories of his career describes how at the risk of his life, Sivaji once stole through the Musalman lines into the heart of his enemy's camp at Poona to listen to a Katha

Besides his religious up-bringing, Sivaji was given the best possible military training by Dadaji Konadev. He gathered round him a band of noble companions who became afterwards his trusted friends and co-workers in his sacred cause. With these companions Sivaji embarked upon long wanderings which gave him that intimate geographical knowledge of his country which was one of the chief causes of his success. He wandered for days together through the Krishna valley, through the forests on the banks of the Koyna along the winding course of the Indrayam, or followed the Bhima river to its source upon the shaggy sides of mighty Bhimashankar, until he knew every inch of the Deccan hills and how to find his way through the tangled maze of jungle and ravine and precipice from the ghats to the Konkan. Among his companions were also the hill-men called *Mavlas*, these were passionately fond of their young master whom they took with them on their hunting expeditions, taught him to ride and shoot and made an expert of him in the use of swords and daggers common in the Deccan. 'Thus grew Etruria strong'. The boy had

already acquired the training and the talent which might enable him to achieve the mission of his life. But what was that mission to be ? Sivaji was now 18 years of age and it was now time for him to know his mission and devote himself consciously to its realization

The determination of the mission of his life shows the stuff of which Sivaji was made. There were indeed several alternative courses open to him. But the one that he finally selected shows the nobility of his soul, a moral heroism that deliberately rejected the broad and flowery path of easy life and chose the more thorny ones. This most important aspect of his career and character has been so well expressed by Messrs Kincaid and Parasnis that it is better to quote their actual words :—

“Like some of the barons of the time, he could live on Shahji's estates, amuse his leisure with strong drink, fill his zenana with the rustic beauties of the neighbourhood and perform just as military service as would enable him to retain such fiefs as he might inherit from his father. But to the son of Shahji and the grandson of Maloji, such a life probably never afforded much temptation. The second course was that favoured by Dadaji Konadev. He could go to Bijapur, join the king's service as a subordinate of Shahji as Sambhaji had done and with him rise to a high place among the factious nobles who surrounded Muhammad Adil Shah. But Sivaji was well aware of the weakness of the Bijapur Government. He knew that behind the glitter of the court, there was waste, mismanagement and incapacity.

At Bijapur, just as there had been at Ahmadnagar there was constant and furious rivalry between the Deccan and the foreign parties. Either faction, in order to gratify private spite, were prepared to call in the Moguls and ruin their country. Sivaji realized that sooner or later a house so divided must fall a prey to the disciplined Moguls, whose forces were led by royal princes, who were among the first captains of the time. A third course open to Sivaji was to seek his fortune at Delhi. The son of Shahji Bhonsle would no doubt have received a high post in the Mogul army. There his natural gifts would certainly have won him most honourable distinction. But to adopt this course would have been to desert his country and to stand by, while Aurangzeb's armies enslaved the Indian peoples and insulted their religion from Bhima to Rameswaram. There was yet another course open to the young noble and that was to attempt the liberation of the Maratta nation. It was a well-nigh hopeless task. After three centuries of slavery, the wish for freedom was all but dead and lived, if at all, in a few hill tracts in the Mawal and the Konkan. He could expect no aid from other Maratta nobles. All that the Ghorpades, the Mores, the Manes, the Sawants and others aspired to, was their own advancement at court or the enlargement of their fiefs at the expense of their neighbours. Without resource, he must raise an army. He must inspire it by his own words and acts with high ideals. He must fight against his own relatives and countrymen. He must incur charges of treason and charges of unfilial conduct. In the end,

he would most likely see his hopes shattered, his friends butchered and himself condemned to a cruel and lingering death. Yet this was the course which Sivaji resolved to adopt. He did so, not with the rash presumption of youth, but after deep deliberate thought, after long discussion with the friends of his boyhood, with Dadaji Konadev and with his mother Jijibai. Having once adopted it he never swerved from it until his work was done. More than 2,500 years before, three immortal Goddesses had called on another eastern prince to decide questions similar to those which now confronted Sivaji. But far other than that of Paris was the judgment of Shahji's son. He turned aside from the rich promises of Hera and the voluptuous smiles of Aphrodite and without a single backward glance placed the golden fruit in the hands of Pallas Athene".

But the heroic spirit of Sivaji was shown as much in the choice of his mission as in its execution. What helped him most to adhere firmly to the great object of his life was the then political environment of Northern India under the rule of the emperor Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb came to the throne with peculiar conceptions of his duties and of his position. He honestly regarded himself as the missionary of his faith, the agent of his prophet, and to that capacity was deliberately subordinated his capacity as emperor. His religion determined and dominated his politics. He devoted the vast resources of his empire and the power and dignity of his exalted position to the propagation of his own special faith at the cost of all other faiths. He

was essentially a man of principle. With him there could be no temporising or compromise for the sake of mundane matters, as was the case with his predecessor, Akbar. Thus he spared neither himself nor others. Severely puritanic and austere in his habits, the most moral and temperate of all Musalman kings, Aurangzeb was driven by the sincerity and earnestness of his religious convictions to be one of the greatest oppressors of men. He deliberately rejected the easier paths of conciliatory statesmanship by which Akbar was able to organize an empire, winning over its most powerful enemies, the Rajputs and other Hindu peoples. But with Aurangzeb, the adoption of that policy was nothing less than sacrilege. He had thus no hesitation in ruthlessly rejecting the policy that built the Mogul Empire and consciously adopting one that would destroy it. His ascension to the throne meant a declaration of a holy war against all non-Islamic faiths. The challenge was accepted by the Hindu world, because by that time it had found the man who was quite up to it. In fact, the sacredness and supreme urgency of Sivaji's chosen mission began to possess his soul with greater and greater force with the growing materialization of the ultimate aims and schemes designed by the emperor Aurangzeb against the indigenous religions of the country. Two great faiths were about to engage in a deadly struggle for supremacy. The war between Aurangzeb and Sivaji was not a war between two individuals, but between two different cultures and religions of which they were the representatives. Thus in the prosecution of his holy mission, Sivaji was sustained

and driven by the dynamic force of religion. His enthusiasm was fed from spiritual sources and not simply by the mere mundane motives of gaining power and pelt. His own teacher, at the time of his death, imparted to him the parting message that he should strike a blow for his country's freedom, 'for the temples, the Brahmans and the sacred kine' and his own battle-cry was '*Har-Har Mahadev*,' because, practically he was acting as the defender of his faith

It was in the year 1646 that Sivaji took the very step towards the accomplishment of his life work by the seizure of Torana without blood-shed with a following of about a thousand men. The boldness of this act captivated the imagination of the youth of Poona and the neighbourhood, although it was against the opinion of his teacher Dadaji Konadev. Sivaji, however, had his mother's full support in this daring enterprise and, what is more important, the support of his own conscience, which inspired him with the belief that he was the trustee of a divine task. Soon after this event Dadaji Konadev was on his death-bed when he sent for Sivaji, and far from dissuading him, he advised him to prosecute his plans of independence and preserve the temples of Hindus from violation. The injunction of his teacher confirmed Sivaji in his designs and tended materially to raise his character in the eyes of the public. To the fort of Torana, he added the forts of Singhad and Purandhar, so that by the end of 1647 he made himself the undisputed master of the Poona district, 'watching and crouching like

the wild tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring on his prey'

Sivaji now made his southern frontier safe, but he needed money to push forward his designs. Very soon an opportunity presented itself to him for supplying his need. The Bijapur Governor of Kalyan sent the Government rents of his charge to Bijapur, with an escort of hill-men. As the guards with their carts were winding their way through the Konkan, Sivaji with a body of 300 horse, pounced upon them, overthrew the guards and made himself master of the treasure. Such an act was, of course, a declaration of open war with Bijapur, for which he was already preparing himself. He followed up this daring raid by a surprise attack on the neighbouring forts of which he took no less than nine. In all these enterprises Sivaji's method was to liberally reward gallantry and make ample provision for the families of the fallen houses. This generosity greatly impressed the Mavlis whose dread of Muhammadanis was absolutely extinguished. Soon after this, one of Sivaji's officers attacked the city of Kalyan itself and captured the Governor and his family. This event marks the beginning of Sivaji's career as the champion of Hinduism in the Deccan. It created a great stir among the people who were tired of alien rule, for which Sivaji offered them the best possible administration. The result was that fort after fort opened its gates to him and the whole of the Konkan was soon in the hands of the Marattas. Forts which

refused to surrender, were surprised by stratagems. In the rainy season in the Ghats, houses had to be protected by a heavy coating of thatch and before the monsoon set in, long lines of hill men, carrying bundles of grass and other thatching material were to be seen climbing up the hill to the fortress gates. Sivaji smuggled companies of Maulis with the weapons concealed in their bundles among the hill men, and by this stratagem the forts were taken by surprise. About this time Sivaji got from a Hindu his famous Bhavani sword, with a fine Genoese blade perfectly tempered, which seldom left his side afterwards. While all this aggression was going on, the public respect for Sivaji was growing owing to the nobility of his character. The captured Muhammadan Governor of Kalyan was permitted free passage to Bijapur, while his beautiful daughter-in-law, who was presented to Sivaji was sent back by him, with every sign of respect, to her relations. Throughout his career, Sivaji was never found wanting in his chivalry towards women.

As has been already stated, the plunder of Bijapur treasure and the capture of Kalyan were practically equivalent to an open declaration of war by Sivaji against Bijapur. Bijapur was not at this time able to accept the challenge of Sivaji on account of Aurangzeb's campaigns against the two Shiah kings of Golkonda and Bijapur. When the news of Shah Jehan's illness made Aurangzeb raise the siege of Bijapur and march post-haste towards the north to secure the throne for himself, the Bijapur authorities

felt themselves free to take the final steps towards the overthrow of Sivaji. The young king of Bijapur, on the advice of his mother, called on the nobles of his court to volunteer for the command of an army destined to destroy Sivaji and his followers. The first to step forward and answer this call was Afzul Khan, a man of great stature and strength, who had a fairly good knowledge of the topography of the country where he had to fight. The king gladly accepted his services and despatched him at the head of a fine army composed of 12 thousand horse and well-equipped with cannon, stores and ammunition. The aim of this expedition was firstly to take Sivaji dead or alive, and in case of failure, to recover all his recent conquests from Bijapur. The ill-fated Afzul Khan uttered his vain boast that he would not only take Sivaji prisoner, but would make him ride on his own horse to Bijapur. Afzul Khan set out on his expedition from Bijapur in 1659 and his first plan was to turn Sivaji's southern fortress by a wide flanking march. He, therefore, marched almost due north from Bijapur to Tuljapur. This was, and is still, the favourite shrine of the Goddess Bhavani, especially dear to the Bhonsle family. But, for the very reason, Afzul Khan resolved to desecrate it. The priest of the temple, anticipating the evil designs of the Moslem General, had moved the image of the Goddess to a place of safety before his arrival at the shrine. Thus, thwarted in his designs, Afzul Khan, out of vengeance, had a cow slaughtered and its blood sprinkled throughout the temple.

In the meantime Sivaji, as a preparation against the

advance of Afzul Khan, took up his position from Raigad to Jaoli, where the physical difficulties of the country would be of advantage to him in meeting the enemy's attack. Afzul Khan also altered his line of march desecrating the temples on the way and exasperating the feelings of the Hindus. He finally encamped at Wai where he amused himself by preparing a cage for Sivaji's confinement, while, at the same time, he sent an invitation to Sivaji to come to a conference with him. The real meaning of this proposal was, however, obtained by Sivaji through the chief of his secret service, who, disguised as a fakir, made his way into Afzul Khan's camp and heard him boast that he meant to entrap Sivaji. On the arrival of Afzul Khan's envoy, Krishnaji Bhaskar at Pratapagad, Sivaji took him, as a Hindu into his confidence and implored him to swear, by all that a Hindu held holy, as to the real intentions of the Khan. Krishnaji yielded to his earnestness and informed him of the Khan's intended treachery. Sivaji wanted to meet stratagem by stratagem. He sent a formal invitation to Afzul Khan to meet him at Pratapagad a fortnight later. This would give him the time needed to prepare a road along which the Bijapur General and his army should pass unsuspectingly. The villagers co-operated with Sivaji and cut through the forest a wide road along which Sivaji placed ample stores of food. At the same time he posted men throughout the jungle along side of the road so that the movements of the enemy might be carefully noticed. In the meanwhile Sivaji's message was delivered by the Khan's envoy Krishnaji in the following words :—

"The king is timid. He dare not come to you for the interview. If you but go to Jaoli and assure him of your protection, you will easily induce him to return with you to Bijapur."

Atzul Khan, with his faith unshaken in his troops and in his own heroism, sent word accepting Sivaji's invitation. As the Muhammadan historian, Khafi Khan, well puts it — "The angel of doom led him by the collar to his fate."

When the due date arrived Atzul Khan marched towards the appointed place of the meeting finding on the way ample provisions for his troops, who advanced gaily, little knowing that thousands of hostile eyes were watching them from the neighbouring thickets. On the day previous to the interview, Sivaji bathed and took his morning meal and in the afternoon lay down and slept in perfect peace of mind as if no danger awaited him. After rising, he visited the temple of Bhavani and prayed for help. Next he ordered some of his most trustworthy followers to post troops round the flanks and rear of the Bijapur army so as to cut off all way of escape in case Afzul Khan attempted treachery. The signal for their attack was to be the blast of a horn. Sivaji was quite conscious of the risk he was running, and calling a council, nominated in the event of his death his young son Sambhaji as heir and Netaji Palkar as regent. Last of all he visited his mother Jijibai who begged him not to take the risk. But Sivaji remained unshaken in his resolve. "The Hindu Gods," he said, "will, if need be, fight on my side." This strengthened the mother's heart

and made her bless the son's enterprise. Sivaji armed himself carefully against the meditated treachery. He put on a gold embroidered coat, beneath which he donned a shirt of fine mail. On his head he wore a steel cap, which he covered by a long cloth turban. Into his left hand, he fitted the steel points, known as Wagh Nakha or tiger's claws. A scorpion dagger or Bichwa was concealed in his right sleeve. On the other side Afzul Khan was carried to Pratapagad in a palanquin with a large body of armed men whom Krishnaji cleverly induced the Khan to dismiss on the ground that Sivaji's suspicions would otherwise be aroused. Sivaji, with two companions, entered the Shamiana, gorgeously decorated for the occasion and appeared to be unarmed. Afzul Khan who carried the sword thought that the moment had come to seize him, and he purposely insulted Sivaji by asking him how a common peasant like him came to have those riches displayed in the Shamiana. Sivaji retorted by saying that that was his business and not Afzul Khan's, whose father was nothing but a cook. This taunt gave the Khan an opportunity of attacking Sivaji. With his left arm, he seized Sivaji by the neck, forcing his neck under his armpit and at the same time trying with his sword to stab him in the stomach. But the coat of mail turned the point. Sivaji was indeed in great peril. For in spite of the treachery anticipated he allowed himself to be taken unawares. As he afterwards said, when relating the scene to his guru Raniadas that he was on the point of fainting; but he recovered his senses when he thought of his divine mission and the great issues

that were staked on his life. It was indeed a most anxious moment for Sivaji and his cause. His entire life-work was put to the supreme test. Regaining his self-possession, he swung his left arm round the Khan's waist as the latter raised his arm for a second blow. The steel claws were driven deeply into the Khan's stomach and as he reeled with pain, Sivaji freed his right arm and drove the dagger into his enemy's back. Afzul Khan, in despair, aimed a blow at Sivaji's head which cut through the turban and the steel cap and inflicted a slight wound on his scalp. Sivaji snatched the sword from his companion and struck the Khan through his left shoulder. The Khan fell down calling for help. His companions rushed up and tried to carry the Khan in the palanquin, but Sivaji's companions slashed at the legs of the bearers until they dropped their burden. Afzul Khan's head was cut off and brought back to Sivaji who then blew his horn. The whole forest was now lined with men, bodies of foot soldiers and squadrons of cavalry. The battle was ended in a few seconds. The Bijapur horsemen were ridden over before they had time to mount. Those who tried to escape on foot were cut off by Sivaji's infantry. Numbers fell, but all who surrendered were spared under Sivaji's orders. Sivaji captured the entire camp, treasury, stores, horses, elephants and camels of Bijapur army. A large part of the booty, he distributed as rewards among his troops. Carrying in one hand Afzul Khan's bleeding head, Sivaji went to see his mother. The dead man's head, Sivaji buried on the top of the hill as an offer to Bhavani.

This unexpected victory over the forces of Bijapur was however regarded by Sivaji as a mere link in the chain of events by which he was marching towards his ultimate goal. He did not want to give the enemy any breathing time in which another and perhaps stronger expedition might be got up against him. At the same time the news of Afzul Khan's death and the complete destruction of his army produced quite a panic in Bijapur. To add to this Sivaji's army swollen by the enlistment of Bijapur Hindus spread over all the Bijapur district in the neighbourhood of Jaoli and over the southern Konkan. Panhala, a very strong fort near Kolhapur surrendered without a siege to Sivaji. Pavangad and Wasantgad also followed suit. Rangna and Khelna were stormed and reduced. At this time the Bijapur Government wishing to check the triumphant career of Sivaji sent a small force under Rastam Khan, which was however completely beaten back. Sivaji after this victory marched his cavalry up to the very gates of Bijapur plundering the entire territory. The Bijapur Government was now roused to stake its whole resources on a final attempt to overthrow Sivaji. The attempt was entrusted to the Abyssinian General Sidi Johar with the son of Afzul Khan as his lieutenant, who was longing to avenge his father's death. A combined attack was levelled against Sivaji from three sides which made him throw himself with his strong garrison into Panhala, while he asked one of his generals to harass the enemy in the open country. Sivaji's plans however did not succeed against the numerical strength of the investing army under its able commander.

The monsoon during which Sivaji expected the siege to be raised burst, but the siege continued to be pressed with unremitting energy. Sivaji's situation was now extremely critical. Want of food was already felt among his garrison. But, if his difficulty was great, greater were his spirits, his resourcefulness and his courage. He sent word to the commander of the enemy that he was ready to surrender and wanted an interview to arrange its terms. The terms were all agreed to except some minor points the settlement of which was postponed till the next day. The besiegers, expecting the fall of the great fortress the next day, relaxed their vigilance and gave themselves up to nocturnal merriment. After months of toil and tension the sentries slept at their posts, the officers enjoyed themselves in late dinners. About midnight Sivaji with a body of chosen troops left Panhala in perfect silence. He made his way through the sleeping enemy, descending by one of the out-of-the-way paths and was riding under cover of darkness for his life to the north. A hot chase was given by Afzul Khan's son. Desire for vengeance lent him wings. About noon his leading squadron sighted Sivaji's soldiers. But Sivaji was perfectly self-possessed. He detached half his troops to form a rear guard and resist the passage of the enemy, while in the meantime he would make for his fort Vishargad with all expedition. The plan succeeded. The gallant commander of the rear guard, Baji Despande, repulsed two attacks of the enemy until he himself fell, covered with wounds. Just then a boom of five guns was heard from Vishargad announcing Sivaji's arrival there, and the

dying hero could know that his duty was done. After this the campaign died out in an ineffectual fashion, the details of which we need not concern ourselves with. There was gain and loss on either side. In the end both sides were unwilling to continue the contest. The one aim pursued by Sivaji throughout his life was, as he himself stated in one of his letters, to free the Maratta race from Musalman rule. The section of his people subjected to Bijapur, he had now freed. He now wanted to keep it free from the Moguls by forming a triple alliance between himself and the States of Bijapur and Golkonda, which might resist Mogul aggression and give him the chance of liberating that portion of Maharashtra which had been subject to the Delhi Emperor. The peace with Bijapur was arranged by Sivaji's father, Shahji himself. The father and the son were to meet at Jejuri. On the arrival of his father Sivaji prostrated himself at full length and laid his head upon his father's feet. After this Shahji entered the palanquin. But Sivaji would walk barefooted to do his father honour. At the pavilion erected for Shahji's reception, Sivaji refused to sit down in his father's presence. With hands across his breast, he stood in front of his father and implored his pardon for the youthful disobedience for which his father had to suffer by his imprisonment. Shahji embraced his son and said that all was forgiven to one who sought to free his countrymen, while pressing him to continue in his appointed task. By the treaty was acknowledged the complete independence of Sivaji as the ruler of the Deccan as far south as Kolhapur and of the Konkan as far as Goa.

The next manifestation of Sivaji's heroism took place in connection with his conflict with the Moguls. After settling his relations with Bijapur, Sivaji thought himself strong enough to attempt the execution of the second part of his policy, namely, the liberation of his people from the yoke of the Mogul Emperor. The immediate cause of the conflict was the Mogul capture of Kalyan which Sivaji had taken from the Bijapur ruler, Mulana Ahmad. As a retaliatory measure, Sivaji plundered the Mogul territories from Ahmadnagar to Aurangabad and there is a story that the Imperial officers complained to Shaista Khan, the Governor of the Mogul Deccan, that they were unable, through fear of the Marattas, to send to Aurangabad, the provincial capital, their revenue collections. Being informed of these doings of Sivaji, Aurangzeb at once asked his maternal uncle, Shaista Khan to take the offensive and conquer the territories which Sivaji had taken from Bijapur. Shaista Khan, accordingly, himself marched to Ahmadnagar and from there to Pedgaon, whence he sent his cavalry ahead which first occupied Supa and then Poona, while Sivaji took up his position at Singhad. In order to secure his rear, Shaista Khan wanted to reduce the small fort of Chakan which, under its heroic commandant, Phirangoji-Narsala held out for nearly three months. The besiegers, hampered by the rains, were attacked at night by the Marattas and driven out of their trenches. At last the garrison was starved into surrender. The heroic commandant was received by Shaista Khan with all honour and even offered a post which was declined by him; for he preferred

to return to Sivaji, which he was allowed to do. In the meanwhile Sivaji had removed from Singhad to Rajagad. Shaista Khan in order to draw him out of his position of vantage sent him a letter in which he contemptuously called him a monkey who hides away in the hills. Sivaji sent in reply a Sanskrit couplet in which he asserted that he was not only a monkey but Hanuman himself who had helped Rama to destroy Ravana and all his hosts. Shaista Khan then took up his abode at Poona in Sivaji's old house, posting a ring of patrols all round Poona, dismissing from his cavalry the Maratta horsemen and forbidding all Hindus to enter or leave Poona without a pass. Nevertheless he kept up his Maratta infantry lest his army might be too much reduced and this fatal step was the cause of his ruin. Sivaji, and two of his most trusted friends and two hundred picked men, disguised themselves as foot-soldiers in the imperial service and obtained permission from the Kotwal for a marriage party to enter the town. In front went a boy dressed as a bridegroom (Khafi Khan); behind him walked Sivaji and his companions beating drums and playing other instruments to keep up the disguise. Soon after a party of troopers (another disguised band of Sivaji's men) entered by another gate of the town driving before them some of their own men whom they declared as prisoners of war and whom they mercilessly belaboured. There was the further precaution taken by Sivaji of posting several thousands of infantry at some distance from Poona under proper disguise against any untoward happenings. The two bands that entered the town met at a

fixed spot and changed their garments. Sivaji posed nearly five hundred men at midnight at various points in the city while he himself with his two friends and twenty other men went to the palace of Shaista Khan. Failing to enter by the main gate which was well lighted and guarded by vigilant eunuchs, Sivaji who knew every inch of the palace, entered by the kitchen where some of the cooks were working and others sleeping. The former were noiselessly strangled and the latter stabbed and made to sleep the sleep that knows no waking. Thus there was no alarm raised. By the help of pick-axes a way was opened into the women's apartments. A servant, roused, tried to give the alarm to Shaista Khan who was however too sleepy to hear anything. A minute or two later, some of his maids ran up to him, saying that a hole was being made in the wall of their room. Shaista Khan, springing from his bed, armed himself with a spear and his bow and arrows. In the meanwhile Sivaji's men were pouring in. The Khan shot the first man who before he fell slashed off his thumb. The second man was killed with a spear by the Khan. In vain did his followers beat drums for help, for Sivaji's men bolted the doors behind them. Shaista Khan's son, rushing to the fray, killed two or three Marattas, but was himself cut down. His fighting however gave time to two maid servants who dragged Shaista Khan to a place of safety. A man like him was mistaken for him and decapitated by the Marattas. Sivaji taking Shaista Khan to be dead, then opened the doors and escaped with all his men and ultimately came away to Singhad where he was besieged.

by the Mogul army under Shaista Khan. This was however sheer folly, for the Khan had no siege guns with him, while the rainy season was close at hand and blocked his operations. Numbers of besiegers fell under the fire of Maratta artillery and the Mogul General had no other alternative than to retreat to Poona, which he afterwards evacuated. Thus ended one of the thrilling episodes in the heroic career of Sivaji

Aurangzeb transferred the command of his forces from Shaista Khan to Prince Muazzam and Raja Jai Singh, the greatest of the Rajput feudatories. But Sivaji was as successful as ever. He assaulted the foe on dark nights, seized difficult passes and fired the jungles full of trees. At the same time he was planning an attack upon one of the most valuable possessions of Aurangzeb, namely, Surat, which was the richest emporium in the Mogul empire, on account of its being the meeting place of Indian and foreign merchants, Portuguese, Dutch, English and French. Sivaji's plan was, as usual, a masterpiece both of daring and foresight. He spread the rumour that he planned an attack on the Portuguese at Bassein and erected two camps between that fort and Chaul, south of it. In the meanwhile, one of his spies returned from Surat giving him full report as to the wealth and geography of the town. At the same time Sivaji, in the disguise of a mendicant, explored the approaches from the northern Konkan through the Dharmpur State into south Gujarat. He then returned to the two camps, secretly departed with four thousand

picked cavalry and suddenly appeared within a few miles from Surat. The Mogul Governor of the town asked the Dutch and the English merchants of the city to assist in its defence. But they refused to do more than defend their own factories. The cowardly governor withdrew his garrison into the castle, leaving the inhabitants to their fate. Sivaji gave the city up to plunder. The hoarded wealth of the rich and timid Surat merchants was easily secured and, laden on the horses of the unfortunate inhabitants, was sent safely to the fort of Raigad. There he established a mint in which coins were struck in his own name to declare his complete independence of Bijapur. Sivaji, by this time, had built up his navy which was now used to plunder all ships issuing from the imperial ports. Some of these ships were filled with Mecca pilgrims and these were seized and held as ransom. This roused the wrath of both Delhi and Bijapur. The latter sent a large force against him which was eventually beaten back. In the meanwhile, with his fleet Sivaji plundered the whole of Bijapur coast and returned to Raigad to await the expected Mogul attack. The attack was led by Jai Singh and Dilir Khan who invested Singhad and Purandhar. Finding his position critical, Sivaji resolved to make peace with the Moguls, for he thought that both Delhi and Bijapur must not be allowed to combine against him. His policy was now to isolate Bijapur anyhow from the Moguls. He sent an envoy to Jai Singh, as a brother Hindu, and sued for peace. At first the Rajput chief did not want to be tricked and would not believe in Sivaji's sincerity. At last Sivaji

had to send his confidential minister to remove Jai Singh's distrust. An interview was arranged. Jai Singh treated Sivaji very well and promised him that he would not only guarantee his safety, but would win for him the emperor's pardon and favour. By the final peace terms Sivaji returned his recent gains in Mogul territory together with Purandhar and Singhad and he retained all his other conquests from Bijapur. Aurangzeb then opened his campaigns against Bijapur and Golkonda with which Sivaji co-operated to take vengeance upon Bijapur.

At this time Aurangzeb sent him an invitation to come to his court. Sivaji accepted the invitation and saw Jai Singh at his camp near Bijapur. Jai Singh sent his son Ram Singh to escort Sivaji to Agra and asked him to see that Sivaji's safety promised by him was absolutely guaranteed. In the journey Ram Singh became Sivaji's devoted friend. Sivaji arrived at court only to receive an insult which had even previously been designed by Aurangzeb. The insult was followed by practical imprisonment in a house at Agra under a Musalman guard. Sivaji's representations for better treatment were in vain. Aurangzeb sent him word to say that he could return to the Deccan if he left his son Sambhaji as hostage. This meant that Sivaji must either sacrifice his eldest son or betray his countrymen. He could not therefore bring himself to accept this condition. His resourceful mind soon evolved a plan of escape which for ingenuity and daring has been rarely equalled. The plan was realized in successive stages. All suspicion wa

sought to be removed by Sivaji's proposal to send back his troops, which was gladly accepted by Aurangzeb. His next request to have his wife and mother brought to Agra was also gladly granted. So also was his third request to send his friends in Agra sweet-meats and choice-fruits prepared in the Deccan style. Thus presents were sent and they brought return gifts. Thus hardly a day passed without a stream of wicker-work baskets passing into and going out of the prisoner's house. The vigilance of the guard was relaxed by the frequency of the transaction. Then one day Sivaji feigned illness from which he feigned recovery after a few days, this was made the excuse for sending more baskets of sweets to his friends for their rejoicing. He also bought three horses which he sent towards Mathura on the pretext that they were presents to the Brahmans there, whose prayers to Krishna had caused his recovery. The same evening Sivaji and his son got each into a sweet-meat basket and their remaining followers disguised as porters carried them out. His faithful follower, Hiraji Pharzand, took his place on the bed with one of his hands exposed showing Sivaji's own signet ring. Sivaji with his silent followers made for the spot where the horses awaited him and rode to Mathura. There they assumed mendicants' dress and were quietly lost among the vast crowd of devotees who haunt the holy spot. Sivaji left his young son behind in a friend's place and went to Benares, Allahabad, Gaya, Bengal and Indore. From Indore he went southwards until he came to a village recently sacked by Sivaji's troops enraged at his detention. A

farmer, who was ruined by the raid, shared what he had with the travel-worn mendicant without knowing who he was. It is said that his wife, referring to the raid, abused Sivaji and wished to God he would die in prison at Delhi. We have also another story recorded. One day while Jijibai was sitting anxiously in her apartment at Raigad, a bairagi came and craved admittance. The princess received him and he fell at her feet saying he had a message for her. When she asked him what it was, he suddenly threw off his disguise and stood before her. It was Sivaji. When his return to his dominions was publicly announced, the guns in every fortress of the western ghats boomed greeting to the well-beloved leader. In a short time Sivaji reconquered all the ground lost by surrender to Aurangzeb and established himself as the paramount power in the Deccan. Singhad was recaptured by the incredible bravery of Tanaji Mulustre and his small band of followers, but at the cost of his life. When the news reached Sivaji he said "I have won the fort and lost my lion." Other forts were recaptured one by one. In 1670 at the head of 15,000 men, Sivaji made a second descent to Surat. A large booty was secured. In 1672 the first complete Maratta victory was achieved in a pitched battle with the Moguls. The Marattas now were a terror in the whole region. They swooped down upon Khandesh and demanded chauth; they plundered Ahmadnagar, Aurangabad, and even Golkonda and all the treasures poured into Sivaji's capital Raigad. At this time Bijapur was plunged into confusion by the death of its old king Ali Adil Shah and the

opportunity was fully utilized by Sivaji who seized Panhala, plundered the foreign settlements at Hubli and sent his fleet to raid the coast. By 1674 the Bijapur troops had been driven back to the walls of their capital. Then Sivaji thought himself justified in crowning himself. The coronation was celebrated in great magnificence. As Mr Rawlinson puts it --

“The guns of Raigad thundered volley after volley, the sound was caught up and repeated from fort to fort, till from end to end of the Sahyadris, the roar of artillery, for hundreds of miles, proclaimed to the world the birth of the Maratta nation.”

22. Mayura Varma.

THERE is always something exceedingly interesting in knowing how a brave and generous man, who, born and brought up to a particular walk of life, acts when brought face to face, with a sudden emergency challenging as it were his right to the doing of a heroic act. The story of such a man's life is of especial interest, because it not merely records a brave deed done in the face of danger at the risk of one's own life but also the readiness and willingness to lay down one's life for the good of others. Such a man was Mayura Varma, who was at one time a great ruler in the west of Mysore. In the days prior to those of Asoka, Southern India, including Mysore, was divided into a number of states each ruled by a

king Mayura Varma who was one of these kings was originally a Brahman, being born of devout Brahman parents and brought up in the traditional Brahman manner. Mayura Sarma, as he was originally known, after finishing his education at his native place, Banavasi near modern Sorab, desired to finish it at Kanchi (Conjeevaram), the famous seat of learning then in South India. He betook himself to that place, with his Guru Vira Sarma. While studying there, he was attacked by some people of the locality. Though a Brahman and not accustomed to the use of arms, he instantly made up his mind to teach his traducers a good lesson. He resolved forthwith on taking to the life of a Kshatriya and to learn the art of warfare and put to shame his detractors.

Conjeevaram was in those days the capital of a line of kings known to history as the Pallavas. They were at that time the most powerful of all the line of kings who held sway in Southern India. Both before and after the times we are writing of, they ruled over much of what is now the region between Madras and Trichinopoly and practically throughout the whole of east and north of what is at present the Mysore State.

Mayura Sarma raged himself against the people of this powerful kingdom; and proved himself more than a match for them. Unable to bear the reproach heaped upon him by Kshatriya youths, he trained himself to the difficult duties of a soldier. He learnt the art of warfare from the very beginning and then set out either to retrieve the lost

name to the class to which he belonged or to lose his own life in the attempt. In olden days Brahmans were good warriors, but as time rolled on they yielded the first place in this respect to the Kshatriyas. Still, they did not give up their love for the warrior's sword, as history shows. In the days of Asoka and his predecessors, Brahmans not only fought as soldiers but also were ranked among the bravest of the brave. They even formed voluntary associations, or rather corporations, by means of which they kept up their martial ardour for use in the cause of the country or king as required. These corporations of soldiers were engaged by kings during times of war and by their aid invasions of enemies were expelled, or aggressions on neighbouring kingdoms were attempted. At the time we are speaking of, Brahmans in the south had apparently lost their martial spirit and the deep cut that the reproaches of Pallava warrior youths made on young Mayura Sarma shows that they had, indeed, lost much of their fervour for fighting. But Mayura though young, was a diligent student of the Sas-tras. He had read them to profit. He had read in them that Brahmans of ancient days had proved their worth as warriors and that the best of the soldiers had come from among the Brahmans. So he took to heart the reproach levelled against him and became a student once again — this time a student in the military school. We may infer from what followed, he learned there the best that his teachers could impart to him. With this he started to pay back the Pallavas with compound interest what they had in their mirth dealt out to him.

Mayura, we are told by an authentic lithic record still in existence, armed himself to the teeth, crossed over to the Pallava frontiers, overcame the guards stationed thereabouts and marched on still further to the north as far as Kurnool and levied tribute from all the kings that bore rule there. His fame spread far and wide. The Pallava king now realized the prowess of the young Brahman hero. He led an army against Mayura but Mayura was equal to the occasion. He swooped down upon his traducers, the old Pallavas, like a hawk upon its prey and completely routed them. The Pallava king now saw that there was necessity for acknowledging the martial spirit of the youthful Brahman warrior; himself a soldier, he could not but admire the valorous deeds of Mayura, the Brahman youth, who only the other day came to study the Sastras at his far-famed capital seat. The Pallava king's admiration took practical shape. He made an honourable peace with Mayura Sarma and invested him with a large territory, whose real extent has not yet been accurately determined by scholars. From that day Mayura Sarma came to be known to history as Mayura Varma.

The story related above is told briefly on an inscribed slab at Talgunda in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State. Assuredly that slab takes us back to a time when every one in the land was expected to fight for his king and country. As such it is worthy of honour as much for itself as for the great hero whose valorous deeds it records in language which is both straight and striking to a degree.

23. Prithvipathi.

MYSORE has given birth to many heroes but none, perhaps, was a greater hero than the Ganga Prince, Prithvipathi. The Gangas were a line of kings who bore rule over the greater part of Mysore from about the beginning of the Christian era to about 1000 A D. They were a distinctly Mysore line of kings their greatness leaving a permanent impression on the country they ruled for over ten centuries. The best part of Mysore is still known as Gangavadi (or the tract of the Gangas) and its people Gangadikaras (or the people of Gangavadi). History does not record how the Gangas got their name. They were, however, a mighty race of warriors and a mightier race even of benefactors of their country. Their fame spread early to every corner of India and even to foreign countries, for we find their name mentioned by writers like Pliny and Ptolemy. They were amongst the first to train and use elephants in war. Some of the kings of this line were great patrons of learning. A few even were poets and wrote some excellent works in Sanskrit and Kannada. Some amongst the earliest of the line earned fame as wise administrators. Others again were distinguished for their prowess as generals in the armies they personally led to battle and amongst these must be reckoned Prithvipathi.

Prithvipathi's father Sivamara was a great soldier; so also was his uncle Bhuvikrama. Bhuvikrama defeated in a hard fought battle Narasimhapota Varman, the then Pallava king and subdued the whole of his territory. His

martial fame earned for him the title of "Srivallabha" a title which shows that he was sovereign of a wide expanse of territory. Bhuvikrama's brother Sivamara succeeded him and proved himself as great a ruler of men as a leader of armies in the field of battle. So successful indeed was he as a civil administrator that he came to be known as the "Beloved of the Good." Sivamara's capital was Mukunda which has been identified with Mankunda near the modern town of Chennapatna.

Prithvipathi, the son of Sivamara the Good, was a most promising youth. He appears to have been trained while still a boy to be a soldier. He was a generous and chivalrous youth. Though a mere boy he gave asylum to chiefs who fled to him for protection from the courts of neighbouring kings. As he grew to manhood he led in person distant expeditions and earned undying glory to himself and his family. On one occasion in the great and bloody battle Vemubalguli, he was in the thickest of the fight. Fighting regardless of his life to save apparently a forlorn position, he received a wound. The wound though it did not prove mortal was of a kind that might have proved easily so in the case of a man less strong and less hard-built by athletic exercises than himself. He regarded the wound as something holy, for it had been received in a fight which he regarded a just and righteous one. He therefore cut a bone out of his body closest to the wound and sent it to the waters of the sacred Ganges. In another fight he showed even greater heroism. Engaged in a battle fought at Sri Purambiyam

(near the modern town of Kumbakonam) he defeated the Pandya king Varaguna, but himself lost his life in saving a friend. He thus died a true hero's death, giving his life for that of another after the battle itself had been won and the fate of the day had been decided in his favour.

24. Boyiga.

(C. 940.)

ABOUT the middle of the 10th century there was war between a Ganga Prince named Rakkasa-manī, who had the title, Gangavajra, "a diamond among the Gangas", and Koneya-Ganga who was helped by the Rashtrakuta king Vaddega or Amoghavarsha III. Among the servants of Gangavajra, who was celebrated as the abode of fortune and the home of valour, was Boyiga, fierce to the hostile army. Resolved to die in the battle between his lord Rakkasa-manī and Koneya-Ganga, when the battle proved unfavourable, he sent away Rakkasa-manī, and, putting to flight, amidst the praise of his own and the hostile armies, the horsemen that eagerly came to fight, charged fiercely into the enemy's troops; and when he saw his own army retreating, he went back, and inspiring courage, marched with it on horseback, fell upon the enemy's force, and cut it down. Such indeed was Boyiga's firmness. Having put to flight in panic the whole force of Vaddega and Koneya-Ganga causing much destruction, he fell severely wounded, the greatness of his prowess being praised even by the enemy's troops. "Let people die like Boyiga, displaying

the greatness of their valour When pierced with arrows and wounded with the sharp weapons aimed at him by hostile warriors, Boyiga fell like the orb of the sun, Indra's ladies received him into the celestial car even before his body touched the earth."

(*Reference* —Sravana Belgola Inscription, No. 60.)

25. Butuga.

(C. 950.)

PRINCE BUTUGA was the second son of Ganga king Ereyappa who had the title of Mahendrantaka for having slain in battle the Nolambu king Mahendra He was a friend of the Rashtrakuta king Baddega or Amoghavarsha III, who gave him his daughter Revakammunadi, elder sister of Krishna III, to wife with a dowry of certain provinces in the Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur districts On the death of Baddega, Butuga assisted his brother-in-law Krishna III in securing the throne from a usurper named Lalliya. And when Krishna was at war with the Chola king Rajaditya, Butuga rendered him a great service by slaying the Chola king. In a battle that took place at Takkolam, situated near Arkonam, between Krishna III and Rajaditya, Butuga, with wonderful intrepidity, mounted the elephant on which Rajaditya was seated, and engaging him in hand to hand fight in the howdah itself, stabbed him with dagger and killed him.

(*Reference*.—Mandya Inscription, No. 41.)

26. Deva.

(C. 1120.)

THE Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana made an attack on the fort of Hanagal and captured it. In most of his inscriptions "capturer of Hanagal" forms one of his distinctive titles. When the fort was besieged, Deva known as the Rakkasa warrior of Bidirur, attacked the hostile troops of elephants and horses and cut them down in great valour. Finding, however, that the supply of arrows was exhausted, he went back, and borrowing the quiver of a brother soldier, marched again to the battle, killed many and attained 'the world of Gods'.

(*Reference.*—An inscription at Kelagur, Chikmagalur taluk, Mysore Archæological Report for 1916, page 53.)

27. Mancha Danayaka.

IN the history of Mysore there is perhaps no better instance of a gallant resistance offered to a stern invader than that of Mancha Danayaka. This little known hero was already a petty ruler in the early part of the 11th century when the Hoysala kings were just beginning to make themselves felt in the land. His capital was that picturesque Hill known as Gopalaswami Betta which is some ten miles to the south-west of Gundlupet. Early in life Mancha had trained himself to the rigorous life of a soldier. If he himself did not fortify Gopalaswami Betta, as tradition says he did, he at last improved its defences and made it all but impregnable. His success kindled jealousy in the breasts

of some of his own brothers. There were, it is said, nine of them, of whom a confederacy of four marched against Mancha's capital. At the head of the confederacy was Perumala Danayaka. He had taken the places near about and had marched with a force and laid siege to the fortress of Bettadakote.

Mancha was chosen by his party to lead the defence. His arrangements for a long defence were good. They had been planned with an eye to make the place impregnable. The stores laid in were sufficient to maintain the defending force for, it is said, seven years. Perumala and his brothers tried to capture the place, but each assault they delivered was turned by Mancha and his valiant troops against them. The siege lasted for three years and still Perumala made no impression on the place. Thus foiled in every attempt, Perumala made up his mind to take the place by other means. He tried to corrupt Mancha's own men. ~~Thus~~ stratagem succeeded where bravery did not. Bettadakote fell and Perumala entered the fort elated with joy.

But he had miscalculated. Mancha who had so gallantly defended the place for so long a time preferred death to capture. Being denied the death of a soldier which he so ardently courted, he made up his mind to end his life when he came to know he had been betrayed. As he saw the advancing forces enter the gateways of his dear fortress, he leapt from the hill, on horseback as he was, to the ground below, and all that was mortal of him was scattered to the winds, as it were, the hill being nearly 5,000 feet high. The

spot where he thus took his leap is still pointed out by the good folk of Gopalaswami Betta. Mancha still lives in the memory of the people of Mysore for the heroic defence he set up for his capital. The success of his brothers over him was of short-lived nature. Not long after, the Hoysala king Vinayaditya advanced against them and overpowering them incorporated their territories into his own.

28. Ganga Raja.

(C 1120.)

GANGA RAJA, the son of Echi Raja and Pochikabbe, was the celebrated Jaina General of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana. He greatly helped Vishnuvardhana in securing the country from the Cholas and establishing the independence of the Hoysalas. As the thunderbolt to Indra, as the plough to Balarama, as the discus to Vishnu, as the spear to Subrahmanya, as the bow Gandiva to Arjuna, even so was Ganga Raja serviceable to king Vishnu. He had the distinctive title "a mill-stone to the wheat in the shape of treachery". When the Chola king's General Adiyama, stationed in Talkad, the frontier of the Gangavadi Province above the ghats, refused to surrender the province saying "Fight and take it", he marched rapidly against him and put him to rout. He also put to flight Narasingavarma and all the other Chola generals above the ghats and brought the whole province under the control of his lord.

When the army of the Chalukya emperor Thribhuvanamalla-Parmadi-Deva under the command of twelve

tributary chiefs was encamped at Kannegala (near Hassan), he attacked and vanquished with ease all the chiefs, and taking possession of their stores, and vehicles, presented them to his own lord, who was immensely pleased with the prowess of his favourite general

(*Reference.*—Sravana Belgola Inscriptions, Nos. 73 and 90)

- 29. Vira Ballala.

(C. 1173 to 1220.)

VIRA BALLALA was the grandson of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana and his reign vied in glory with that of his grandfather. He was crowned in 1173 in the capital of Dwara-samudra or Halebid. The capture of the fortress of Uchchangi, the Pandya stronghold, was one of the notable events of his reign. This fortress had been besieged by the Cholas for twelve years and abandoned as hopeless. But Ballala easily seized it, and when Kama Deva, the Pandya king, threw himself on his mercy, restored him to his kingdom. After this conquest he assumed the titles Giridurgamalla and Sanivarasiddhi, the latter owing to success having been attained on a Saturday. Pushing on to the north of the Dharwar district, he defeated Brahma, the General of the western Chalukya king Someswar IV. But his great decisive victory was one gained at Soratur near Gadag over the formidable Sevuna army. Though Bhillama held himself to be unconquerable on account of his great array of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers, Vira Ballala on his

elephant charged his forces, put them to flight, and slaughtered them all the way from Soratur to the bank of the Krishnaveni river. He moistened his sword with the blood of the Pandya king, whetted it on the grindstone of the head of Bhillama, and sheathed it in the mouth of Jaitugi. He followed up this great victory by the capture of a number of forts north of the Mysore country. He thus acquired supremacy over the Kuntala country, and the universal sovereignty of the western Chalukyas, and soon after assumed paramount epithets and titles. He also established an era of his own, running from the first year of his reign as paramount sovereign, which was 1191-92.

30. Babayya Naik.

(C. 1179.)

IN 1179, a battle took place between the Hoysala king Ballala II and the Kalachurya king Sankama. Ballala II sent for the Kannadiga warrior, Babayya Naik of Bachiyahalli and ordered him to fight against the army of Sankama Deva. Thereupon he went forth, fought with great valour, killed several chiefs, and cut to pieces numerous warriors, so that the battle-field was filled with corpses and flowed with streams of blood. At last, being pierced at the heart by an arrow, he fell and became the darling of celestial nymphs who amidst showers of celestial flowers carried him to the world of Gods and gave him an honoured seat in their midst.

(Reference.—Krishnarajpet Inscription No. 6, Mysore Archæological Report for 1915, page 53.)

31. Arahalla and Madda.

(C. 1200)

THE Hoysala king Ballala II ordered the brothers Arahalla and Madda to capture the fort of Haniyakote situated on the Brahmagiri hill now in the Molakalmuru taluk. The fort belonged to Bhoja Raja who defended it with much valour. A fierce and sanguinary battle took place at Haniyakote. The valiant brothers fought heroically and fell, but not before destroying a greater part of the hostile army. The swords of Arahalla and Madda fell like the strokes of lightning on the warriors of the opposing forces and cut them to pieces. Filled with heaps of corpses and streams of blood, the battle-field presented a terrific spectacle.

(*Reference* —An inscription at Kattesomanahalli, Belur taluk, Mysore Archæological Report for 1908, page 11.)

32. Echanna.

(C. 1247.)

ECHANNA was a subordinate of the Sinda chief Bira Deva. When his master held an assembly of braves at his court on the occasion of an incursion by the chief Dekarasa, he gave his word as follows. —

“ When the enemy’s army attacks with fury, I will, stabbing choice horses and notable chiefs with my dagger, throw it into confusion.”

Dekarasa, with all his forces, advanced into the plain of Namati, whereupon Medimaya Nayaka, the minister of

Bira Deva, marched against the enemy and drove him back. But the hostile army, being reinforced, returned to the encounter and attacked the minister's army with great fury so that it was about to take to flight. Then Echanna, saying 'I will now make a slaughter of the enemy with this dagger', began to fulfil his word. Many he cut off like sheep, many he tore to pieces and offered up as a sacrifice to the points of the compass, and many he seized alive. Choice horses and noted chiefs he stabbed and covered himself with glory. Thus fulfilling his word, winning the applause of the army, he gained the world of Gods.

(*Reference*—Honnali Inscription, No 55)

33. Anka Nayaka.

(C 1176.)

ANKA NAYAKA was the son of Chikka Keteya Danayaka, the General of the Hoysala king Narasimha III. When saying "I will take Dwarasamudra in a minute", Saluva Tikkama, the General of the Sevuna king Rama Deva (of Devagiri), along with Jeyi Deva, Haripala and Irungala, came suddenly and laid siege to the fort Chikka Ketuga-Danayaka put the question "who will conquer the enemy?" to the assembled warriors. Thereupon Ankanayaka came forward and expressed his willingness to undertake that task. He then smote warriors and offered up as a sacrifice to the points of the compass the army of the Sevunas spread over the four quarters. Sparks splashed, scalps of heads flew off, horses were cut to pieces, streams of blood flowed.

Such was the fearless valour of Ankanayaka that Haripala was struck with terror, Tikkama fled and Jeyi Deva exclaimed "what shall I do" ? Though Tikkama had spread over the whole country in Belavadi, Ankanayaka gave him time neither to remove to his last encampment nor to take food, but attacked and drove him back as far as Dummur

(*Reference* —Belur Inscription, No 165)

34. Someya Danayaka.

(C. 1303)

SOMEYA DANAYAKA was the Governor of Benumatara Durga, the modern Chitaldrug, under the Hoysala king Ballala III. One of his titles was "Champion over princes who are very fond of their bodies" When Kapila Deva, the General of Rama Deva, the Sevuna king of Devagiri, led an expedition against Holalkere, Someya Danayaka went there with his army, fought bravely with Kampila causing astonishment to the hostile force, and fell. While his followers shouted in admiration 'Jiya' ! (Lord) and king Ballala exclaimed 'Bravo' ! Someya Danayaka, making a sheath of the mouth of his enemies, thrust his sword into it.

(*Reference* —Mysore Archæological Report for 1913, page 40)

* 35. Kumara Rama.

(C. 1330.)

SINGARI-NAYAKA, a chief of Karnata, repaired to the court of Rama Raja of Devagiri and was entertained by him in

his service when, however, the Sultan of Delhi marched against Rama Raja, defeated him and laid waste his territory Singari-Nayaka had to return to his native country, where he was well received by Malla Raja. On the death of the latter without issue he succeeded him and considerably extended his territorial possessions. He was succeeded by his son Kampila, who became a still greater conqueror and reduced all the petty chiefs of Karnata to subjection. Kampila had five wives and also sons by each. By the eldest wife he had the last son Kumara or Prince Rama. Amongst the Rajas who were the neighbours of Kampila, the Raja of Gutti was his rival and demanded tribute of him. Kampila resented this and sent his son Rama, then only twelve years of age, with an army against Gutti. Rama defeated the Gutti Raja, took him captive and brought him to his father, who liberated him on his consenting to become a tributary.

Amongst the booty were ten horses which Rama reserved to himself. When his brothers asked for them, he replied - "Why do you not gain similar prizes by your own prowess?" This taunt they reported to their mothers, who thence forward became inimical to Rama, and in order to accomplish his destruction, incessantly urged the Raja to send him on perilous expeditions. Rama at last vowed to conquer all the neighbouring Rajas, or not to return, and with this resolve repaired to the court of Pratapa Rudra at Warangal. At first Rama was well received, but, when Pratapa Rudra heard of the praises lavished upon Rama for his heroism by the bards and heralds, he became jealous of him and

desired to forbid the singing of his praises. Rama, however, answered that it was easy for him to acquire fresh honours, but that he would not part with any that he had already won. Having thus incurred the enmity of the Raja, Rama had to leave Warangal. Pratapa Rudra sent a force to bring him back, but Rama defeated it, and in a subsequent action with a larger army, was not only victorious but also took Bolla, the favourite horse of the king, and his son who commanded the army. He then subdued the Reddis of Kondapalli and the Raja of Mudagala and returned with increased glory to his father.

The youngest wife of Kampila, named Ratnangi, being struck with the beauty of Rama, became passionately enamoured of him, and impatiently awaited an opportunity for an interview, which at last occurred by an accident. Kampila having gone out hunting, Kumara Rama was amusing himself with tennis, when his ball flew over upon the terrace of Ratnangi's apartments. Not choosing to send a menial to recover it, the Prince went himself, and on seeing him Ratnangi importuned him to gratify her desire. Finding him, however, inexorable, her love changed to hatred, and she complained to Kampila on his return that Rama had attempted to violate her person. Kampila in a rage ordered Rama to be put to instant death. The minister Bachappa, however, secreted Rama in his palace and decapitating an ordinary criminal, produced his head to the Raja as that of his son. Kampila soon repented of his hasty act, and the death of Rama was the subject of universal

sorrow His wives refused to survive him, and declared their intention of becoming *Satis* or burning themselves with the dead body of their husbands. A pile was accordingly prepared by order of Bachappa, who contrived a subterraneous passage leading from the enclosure to the chamber where Rama was concealed, and the faithful wives, who were made to enter the passage, became reunited with Rama

The Sultan of Delhi watching the report of the death of Rama, despatched a large army under six Khans to Kamati. On hearing of its approach, Kampila now more than ever regretted his son's death, but being encouraged by his minister, assembled a large force to oppose the Muhammadans. The armies met and fought a whole day without any decisive result. At night Bachappa told Kampila that he had engaged the services of a distinguished warrior who was so like Prince Rama that he could not know the difference. He then persuaded Rama to take the field. That hero, mounting his horse Bolla, marched to the second day's battle and overthrew part of the hostile army. Slaying and decapitating five of the Khans who commanded the opposing force, he sent their heads to Kampila. On the third day the sixth Khan was killed and beheaded, and the invading army utterly routed. Then Bachappa made Rama known to his father and told him what he had done, at which Kampila was immensely pleased. On hearing Rama's reappearance Ratnangi hanged herself. Kampila was now perfectly satisfied of the innocence of his son.

When the broken remains of the army returned to Delhi,

the Sultan was highly incensed at the cowardice of the commanders, and raising a larger force placed it under the command of Matangi, a female warrior of a low tribe. On learning of this new danger, Kampila retired to Hoskote leaving Rama to defend Kamati. As soon as the forces of the enemy appeared, Rama marched to their encounter and drove them back, but subsequently, being seduced by Matangi, the Telugu soldiers in Rama's army treacherously introduced the enemy into the fort during the night. When appraised of what had occurred, Rama sprang from his bed and hastened to the battle exhorting his wives to prepare for their fate in case they should hear of his death. Proceeding to the scene of conflict, he speedily plunged into the thickest of the fray, where, encountering Matangi, he seized her nose-ring and shaking it told her that he disdained to take the life of a woman. Surprised and overpowered by numbers, his bravest soldiers fell fast around him and he was left alone. After maintaining the conflict for a long time and killing numbers of his assailants, he heroically laid down his life in the defence of his country.

(Reference — *Kumara Rama Charite* by Nanjunda Kavi, C 1525. Wilson's Catalogue of the Mackenzie Manuscripts.)

36. Sayana.

(C 1360)

SAYANA, the younger brother of Madhavacharya, and the celebrated author and commentator on the Vedas, was the

minister of four Vijayanagar kings, namely Bukka I, his elder brother Kampana, his son Sangama II and Harihara II. On the death of Kampana when his son Sangama was a mere child, Sayana administered the kingdom as regent during the minority of Sangama, and himself taught him from his childhood and gave him a liberal education befitting his rank. He also led the army against hostile chiefs and won victories over them. His martial valour was such that the enemies fled in terror on hearing of his approach. He marched at the head of an army against a powerful Chola chief named Champa, and having routed him returned with increased glory. Along with Prince Sangama he attacked Garudanagara and defeated its chief.

(*Reference* —Sayana's Alankara-Sudhanidhi and his younger brother Bhoganatha's Uдахarananāla)

37. Madhava Mantri.

(C 1380.)

MADHAVA MANTRI, the son of Chandi-Bhatta and Machambika, was the minister of two Vijayanagar kings, namely, Bukka I and Harihara II. He was not only a great scholar and author, but also a great warrior. He is credited with having built the dam across the Cauvery near Talkad which is known as Madhava Mantri's Anekat. In 1347, Marapa, younger brother of Harihara I, who was the Governor of the province on the west coast, had Madhava Mantri for his minister. Subsequently Bukka I entrusted Madhava Mantri with the Government of Banavasi Province bordering

on the western ocean, which the latter had conquered. Under Harihara II, too, he continued to be the ruler of the same province. Setting out at the head of a large army, he surrounded Gova, the capital of the Konkana country, and by the strength of his arm routed the Turushkas that had established themselves there and drove them out. He then set up again the images of Sapthanatha and other Gods which had been thrown away by them.

(*Reference* —Shikarpur Inscription, No 281. Sorab Inscription, No 375 J B B R.A S , IV, 115)

38. Ganga Raja II.

FOR a soldier nothing is more glorious than to die in battle. Such was the death that king Ganga Raja II of the later Ganga line of Mysore courted and history records but few instances of such heroism.

The times during which Ganga Raja II lived, were perhaps, one of the most memorable in the history of the south of India. The whole of Southern India was, from Cape Camorin to the Krishna, ruled over by Krishna Raja, the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings. These kings ruled over the whole of South India from about the first quarter of the fourteenth century to about the middle of the sixteenth century after Christ. During this long period, the country prospered and arts and literature flourished. The great temples we now see in every part of Southern India and the palaces and forts whose remains still excite wonder into many a heart, belong mostly to the days we are speaking of.

In Mysore itself, there was, during these stirring times, a Viceroy of the great Vijayanagar sovereign, whose capital was Vijayanagar, a splendid town of large and beautiful buildings, on the banks of the Thungabhadra near the little town of Hospet, not far away from Bellary. This sovereign had under him many Viceroys and Governors and these had, in their turn, many local rulers and chiefs under them.

One of such was our hero Ganga Raja II. His capital was at Sivasamudra, well-known for its water falls. Ganga Raja was not only a soldier but also a great builder. He relaid the town in which he lived and enlarged it and beautified it, and lived in it as befitted one of his rank in great splendour. He had two daughters who were married to two neighbouring chiefs. These marriages proved unhappy, for the ladies continually upbraided their husbands for not living in the high style in which their father did. The husbands got so disgusted — so the story goes — at this constant exhibition of pride on the part of the ladies that they resolved upon attacking their father-in-law and humbling him. After due preparations they laid siege to Sivasamudram. The siege lasted for no less than twelve years, despite the length of time taken, they were unable to penetrate into the island. What they could not gain in open warfare, they next tried to attain by treachery. They found in the Commander-in-chief of king Ganga a ready accomplice to their machinations. This man agreed as the reward for the large sum of money promised to him, to remove the guard from the only ford, and this easily permitted the

enemy to surprise the place. Ganga Raja, however, was not to be taken prisoner so easily as his treacherous foes and still more traitorous Dalavayi wished. He was filled with indignation against the Dalavayi, but it was no moment to tarry long. The enemy was at the gate and the moment for prompt action had arrived. King Ganga, true to his traditions, drew his sword, first killed all his women and children — for he did not want any of them to fall into the hands of the enemy, and then rushed forth to the gate courting a mortal combat. A fight ensued, which was perhaps, the most bloody that had ever occurred in fair Sivasamudram. Well, might we exclaim with the poet, "God of battles! was ever a battle like this in the world before".

Truly it was a fearful fight. The king fought valiantly every inch of the ground before him and died a soldier's death with sword in hand and fighting to the last moment of his life. His sons-in-law on witnessing this tragedy were struck with awe and immediately threw themselves into the cataract at Gagana Chukki. Their example was followed by their wives, the king's daughters, whose insolence had been the cause of the disaster.

39. Mara Nayaka.

(C. 1610.)

MARA NAYAKA was a famous general of the Mysore king Raja Wodeyar. The Vijayanagar Prince Thirumala Raja, on his defeat in the battle of Kesare by Raja Wodeyar, was

actuated by a feeling of revenge, and he instigated Nanja Raja of Hadinadu and Virupa Raja of Parupale to rise against Raja Wodeyar. When Nanja Raja was marching with his army to attack Raja Wodeyar, Mara Nayaka routed the former on the way, whereupon he fled to Kodala, and being defeated there by Raja Wodeyar, he took refuge in the Ramandur fort. Mara Nayaka laid siege to the fort and captured it and drove back Nanja Raja to his own principality.

On learning that Raja Wodeyar became the lord of the kingdom on the death of Tirumala Raja at Malangi, the ministers of Nanja Raja advised him to give up his enmity towards Raja Wodeyar who had thus become very powerful and to make peace with him by the cession of Terakanambi and Ummattur. But Nanja Raja not heeding their advice, prepared himself for war. Mara Nayaka marched against him and after a long and severe fight cut off Nanja Raja's head and placed it before his own lord. Being pleased with the valour of his victorious General, Raja Wodeyar bestowed upon him several distinguishing marks of honour, such as a palanquin, a parasol, chauris, and others.

Mara Nayaka also defeated the chief of Channapatna, and taking Belgola, Kikkeri and Hosaholalu which belonged to him, added them on to the Mysore kingdom. He also subdued Lakshmappa Nayaka of Narasimhapura and made him a tributary to his master. He further punished the impudent chiefs of Tagaduru and Hura and brought them to their senses.

(Reference.—Rajamripa-Charite.)

40. Vijaya and Krishna.

IN the little village of Hadinaru not far from Nanjangud, two adventurous young men of the Yadava tribe from Guzerat showed courage of a kind that led to momentous events in the alter histoiv of Mysore. The village is an old and historic one having been known in ancient days as Hadinaru or Padinadu which gave its name practically to the whole tract of country now included in South Mysore. At the time we are speaking of, about the beginning of the 15th century A D., Hadinaru was a fairly prosperous place ruled over by a local chief. This chief, as he grew old, became weak in mind and this induced his neighbours to take advantage of his helpless position. He had besides a beautiful daughter. The Palayagar of Karagahalli, a man of inferior caste, was fired with the wicked ambition of seeking not only an extension of his territories by the absorption of Hadinaru and all that was dependent on it but also of forcibly obtaining the fair damsel in marriage to himself. He proposed, accordingly, to the Hadinaru family either immediate war or the peaceable possession of Hadinaru by his marriage with the young maiden. The chief's people were overcome with grief at the alternatives proposed, and the whole of Hadinaru was deeply stirred over the matter.

"No mate, no comrade, Ecchi knew
 She dwelt on a wide moor,
 The sweetest thing that ever grew
 Beside a palace door."

While matters were in this state, two brothers named Vijaya and Krishna, of princely lineage, found their way to a well close to Hadinaru where they found some women talking of the unrighteous demand of the Karagahalli chief and calling Heaven's curses on him. They heard the tale and offered their services in defence of the young lady. The offer was no sooner made than it was accepted. It was arranged that the chief of Karagahalli should attend with all his people for the proposed marriage at a place where the party Hadinaru also were to arrive in proper time. The Karagahalli chief made grand preparations for the coming event. He sent word to all his relations who overjoyed with the news of the marriage with a girl so beautiful and so high in social status assembled in full numbers in the marriage pavilion on the appointed day.

Meanwhile Vijaya and Krishna were secretly admitted into Hadinaru to examine the means which the family possessed of averting the impending disgrace. In conformity with their advice no change was made in the preparations for the marriage feast and everything seemed to point to a successful celebration on the day appointed for it. But the brothers Vijaya and Krishna made the marriage impossible by their chivalrous rescue of the damsel. When every one belonging to the Karagahalli chief was expecting the fair girl to turn up at the marriage pavilion for the tying by the bridegroom of the marriage knot, or *Tali* the brothers suddenly appeared with a number of followers and put to the sword the chief miscreants of the Karagahalli party.

They then marched in force to Karagahalli itself,

surprised it and returned in triumph to Hadinaru. The young lady, full of gratitude became the willing bride of Vijaya, who was installed the lord of Hadinaru and Karagahalli. He was the progenitor of the present Royal House of Mysore *

41. Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar and Raja Wodeyar.

THE 8th and the 9th kings in direct succession from Yadu-
raya alias Vijaya the founder of the kingdom of Mysore,
were Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar V and Raja Wodeyar I
respectively, both brothers. The former after a reign of
two years abdicated the throne in 1578 A D in favour of the
latter owing to the exigencies of the times. Both were heroes
known to fame. Mysore was then a small principality
consisting of 33 villages yielding a revenue of 25,000 Pagodas.
The surrounding tracts were under numerous petty chief-
tains. All these were feudatories of the empire of Vijaya-
nagar, which had its head-quarters then in Penukonda
with a Viceroy stationed at Seringapatam, one of whose
relations held the Palayaput of Ummattur about 40 miles
south-east of that city.

It was a critical period in the history of Southern India.
The petty chieftains were constantly at war against one
another, plots and counterplots were the order of the day.

* A slightly different version of this romantic story will be found
narrated in Wilkes' Mysore History. The version given above has the
support of popular tradition as still current in Hadinaru and round about
and is the more probable.

The power of the Viceroy was on the wane. That control that could hold all the feudatories in common subjection was wanting. Mysore had to struggle hard to hold its ground. The royal brothers were fortunately equal to the occasion, both were brave, Bettada Chamaraja being at times very impetuous, while Raja Wodeyar was always steady and cautious.

One of the earliest deeds of Raja Wodeyar was his conquest of Akkihebbal from Narasimha Naik of Narasipur. Next he acquired Ranga Samudra and its environs. Then he met and defeated the chief of Kembala named Devarajiah and annexed his Palayaput to Mysore.

At that time Karugalli had become the rival of Mysore. The chief of that place marched on Mysore to seize it by surprise. Bettada Wodeyar then happened to be carelessly walking about. Here is a graphic description of what followed in the words of Col. Wilkes.

“ ‘What,’ said a woman who met him, ‘is this the time for the blood of the Wodeyar to be inactive?’ He instantly seized a battle-axe, called the troops to follow, cut through at a blow the simple bolt of the gate, sallied forth on the enemy and completely defeated him.”

Raja Wodeyar also took part in the engagement along with his brother and was wounded. He, however, soon recovered. Following up the victory, Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar managed to quietly slip unseen into Karugalli, led by a trustworthy guide by name Kammar Mancha of Kurubarahalli village, studied its conditions and returned.

Soon afterwards he invaded Karugalli, conquered and added it to Mysore

On one occasion Krishnappa Naik of Belur, Virarajaiah of Grama, Balalochana Naik of Moogoor, Imnach Rama Raja Naik of Yelandur, Malla Rajah of Ummattur and the Palayagars of Kunigal and other places entered into a plot and mustered their forces to march against Seringapatam and subvert the Vijayanagar Viceroy's supremacy. Raja Wodeyar, on hearing of this combination, proceeded against them with his army, engaged them in pitched battle near Kunigal and completely vanquished and scattered their forces, taking possession of all their valuable effects.

Again, when Thirumalarajaiah, a Dalvoy of the emperor Venkatapathy Rayalu of Vijayanagar, was going on a visit to Seringapatam, Lakshmappa Naik, Palayagar of Narsipur, intercepted and took him prisoner. The Viceroy of Seringapatam unable to cope with this chieftain, sought the aid of Raja Wodeyar who went and conquered that treacherous feudatory and humbled him and effected the release of Tirumala Rajaiah. In this way Raja Wodeyar was of great help to the Viceroy in reducing the refractory chieftains of that period to submission. The Vijayanagar Sovereign accordingly, in recognition of Raja Wodeyar's valuable services, rewarded him with the grant of Sosale and other villages forming part of Tayurnad of Ummattur.

The acquisition of Seringapatam and its dependencies in 1610 A.D. constitutes the most important event in the life of Raja Wodeyar. It marks a great epoch in the annals

of Mysore The current story about it is that the Viceroy there Thirumala Rayalu being afflicted with the 'Rajapura' or carbuncle, retired to Talkad for worship in the holy shrine there, entrusting his territories to Raja Wodeyar for administration during his absence and in the event of his death, for transfer to his kinsmen and heir, the Wodeyar of Ummattur Col Wilkes who mentions this story does not countenance its accuracy He observes —

“On advertng to the animosities and jealousies which had prevailed for many years between these two persons and the recent attempt of the Viceroy only three years before to remove Raja Wodeyar by assassination, we must reject as contrary to all probability the tale of this singular bequest of confidence and friendship”.

Information contained in a work entitled “Sri Kantirava Narasa Raja Vijaya” since found, does not however confirm Col Wilkes This work was written in 1648 by one Govinda Vydyā, son of Srinivasa Pandit, a protege of that great warrior-king of Mysore, and it is also said that the work was read out to that sovereign in Durbar The evidence of this work must undoubtedly carry some weight According to this authority, the chief of Karugalli whom Raja Wodeyar had vanquished and whose chief town he had razed to the ground, sought protection of the Viceroy at Seringapatam The Viceroy, regardless of the amicable relationship then subsisting between himself and Raja Wodeyar and forgetting too the services and the support he often had received

from the Mysore chief, collected a large army with sinister motives against him. Summoned by the Viceroy, his tributary Palayagars flocked to his standard from distant corners of his territories — Rama Rajendra of Hadnad, Nanjendra of Talkad, Thumma Naik of Keriur, the chieftains of Narasimhapura and Belur, of Ummattur and Moogoor, of Kolar and Bangalore, Dasa Naik of Nuggehalli and several others. These combined forces marched in a sanguine mood and laid siege to Kesare, then the farthest outpost of Mysore in the direction of Seringapatam.

This unexpected aggression of Thirumala Rayalu, the Viceroy, roused the brothers Raja Wodeyar and Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar to immediate action; while the former with his army stood in Kesare and ably defended it against the besieging odds, the latter with his squadrons quickly moved out, sapping the resources of the enemy, scattering their forces in all possible ways and carrying destruction to the very homes of the miscreants who had then invaded Mysore unprovoked. A party of the foe, who crossed the Kapila at Nanjangud at midnight and invested a place known as Kerehatti, were at once met and vanquished by Bettada Chamaraja who created much havoc in their ranks. In one direction he reduced Satyagala and in another with his army he crossed the Cauvery near Sosale and seized that place, and marching on took Kirangur near Seringapatam.

Now turning to Raja Wodeyar, his gallant defence foiled all the attempts of the besiegers at Kesare. In three short

days and nights, the two heroic brothers were able to compel the enemy to raise the siege and take to flight. Raja Wodeyar then assumed the offensive and pursued the foe with great slaughter to the very gates of Brahmavari in Seringapatam.

Thirumala Rayalu did not recover from the disastrous effects of this blow, and unable to hold his ground any longer was obliged to go over to Malangi near Talkad with his family, friends and retinue. What Paniput was to Babar in 1526 A.D. that Kesare proved to be to Raja Wodeyar about eight and a half decades later, while the former gave Imperial Delhi on the Jumna to the Mogul in the north the latter opened the doors of the seat of the Imperial Viceroyalty in the south on the Cauvery to this rising star of Mysore. Raja Wodeyar in due course took possession of Seringapatam with the territories attached to it. The Ummattur chief however made a strong attempt, mustering the scattered forces of the Viceroyalty, to recover the capital, but in vain. Raja Wodeyar's surely was not the hand that would yield what it once grasped. He not only defeated the Ummattur chief but soon took possession of Ummattur also. Such was the heroism that raised the position and prestige of Raja Wodeyar and with it the fortune of Mysore. To make this title secure, Raja Wodeyar in due course wrested confirmatory grant for his possession of Seringapatam and Ummattur from the Emperor Venkatapathy Rayalu I of Vijayanagar, 1612 A.D.

Besides being a warrior Raja Wodeyar possessed in a

high degree the instincts of a statesman which enabled him to safeguard his acquisitions, and he was also a wise ruler Says Col. Wilkes in this respect —

“The rule of Raja Wodeyar was remarkable for the rigour and severity which he exercised towards the subordinate Wodeyars and his indulgence towards the ryots The Wodeyars were generally dispossessed and kept in confinement on a scanty allowance at the seat of Government, and it was the policy of Raja Wodeyar to reconcile the ryots to the change by exacting from them no larger sums than they had formerly paid”

The revolution Raja Wodeyar compassed was one far-reaching in its effects Coming as a necessary link in the grace of Providence in the history of Southern India at a time when petty jealousies were rampant and inordinate ambition swayed weak and self-seeking souls, Raja Wodeyar actuated by noble aims was able to inaugurate quite a new era Brave in war, wise in counsel, considerate in action, sound in policy, active in habits, resourceful and pious, Raja Wodeyar was just the type of the ruler the age demanded. He found Mysore a small weak sapling, ready almost to succumb to any blast; he left it well rooted, able to withstand even a storm. When he became ruler, Mysore was but a petty principality; at his death it was a kingdom with enlarged area capable of not only offering successful resistance to strong adverse currents, but also possessing potentialities for safe expansion. Raja Wodeyar's

life is an example of what heroism combined with sound statesmanship can achieve

42. Thimmanna Naik of Chitradurg.

CHITRADURG was once the capital of a line of powerful Palayagars who ruled over all the surrounding countries for more than two hundred years. The founder of the dynasty was Thimmanna Naik. He was wise in civil administration and extremely daring and courageous in war. The fort on the top of the Chitradurg hill bears evidence even now to his military genius. On hearing of his marked ability, the emperors of Vijayanagar conferred titles on him, honored him with several insignias and recognised him as the Naik of Chitradurg.

Armed with such a noteworthy recognition from the Imperial authority, the Palayagar continued his career of conquests of the surrounding country and strengthened his position by building a strong fortress on the peak of the Chitradurg hill and throwing up other defensive works. The place in course of time came to be considered as impregnable. This excited the envy of his petty-minded foes who busied themselves in carrying tales against him to Ramaraja of Vijayanagar. Kings may be in possession of the country but the kings' ears are often in possession of tell-tales. Yielding to wicked counsels, Ramaraja issued peremptory orders that the Durg should at once be sacked and its Naik should be brought as captive.

Accordingly Salo Narasinga Rao, one of the ablest

generals proceeded with a large army to take Durg by storm. But this commander could effect very little against the veteran hero and was worsted at every step. The Vijavanagar army had bivouaced at the foot of the hill. Then was enacted a feat of unexampled bravery and self-denial.

Thimmanna Naik studied the condition of the enemy from the top of the hill and one day when the hostile army was fast asleep he descended the hill at dead of night, and quite unobserved by any one, daringly entered the hostile camp and was untving the rope by which Salo Narasinga Rao's own riding horse had been picketed. The horse naturally felt disturbed and began to stamp on the ground. This noise roused the groom from his snoring sleep close by. It looked inevitable that Thimmanna Naik should fall into the hands of the enemy. But he had an extraordinary presence of mind. He quietly laid himself on the ground and covered his body with the straw close at hand.

The groom, in a half-drunken mood, got up and found the peg to which the General's horse had been tied was off, picked it up, and unconscious of what was below the covering straw, firmly hammered it to the ground and tying the horse to it as before, went to sleep.

This was a moment of anxious trial for Thimmanna. The peg hammered to the ground by the groom happened to pass through the palm of the Palayagar's left hand. The man did not budge even a hair's breadth and bore the pain with extraordinary fortitude till he was perfectly sure that

the horse-keeper was fully asleep, and then he manifested a feat of unparalleled heroism, the like of which can be traced only in the Puranic legends. The chieftain having in the manner stated lost all control over his left hand, drew off with his right hand, a small dagger sheathed at his loins, cut the wrist of his left hand and tearing a piece of cloth from his turban, tied it to the stump of the mutilated hand. He then got up from his straw bed, again untied the same horse and bestriding him, rode straight up to the top of the hill.

The morning dawned. The General's charger was found missing. From a combined sense of shame and fear, the whole of the Vijayanagar army began to search for it. The animal could nowhere be discovered.

In this connection, another deed of extraordinary valour was manifested by our hero. On the following day the elephant which used to carry Salo Narasinga's Howdah was brought close to the foot of the hill to be watered in what is even now called Thimmanna Naik's tank. This fact was reported to the Palayagar who was lying on a bed getting his mutilated hand treated. As soon as he heard about the enemy's elephant having been brought to the tank, he jumped up from his bed, walked straight to the platform called "Lal Battery", and taking a good aim and holding his bow with his feet, discharged an arrow with the right hand which at one stroke killed the huge animal. Is this not a true hero, and is this not real heroism !

[History of Chitaldrug Palayagars.]

43. Jagadevaraya of Channapatna.

IN the middle of the 16th century A D , Channapatna, which is about 37 miles south-west of Bangalore, became the capital of Jagadevaraya. a distinguished soldier, who was the son-in-law of the then fugitive king of Vijayanagar who bore rule at Penukonda, in what is now called the district of Anantapur. The story of how Jagadeva got Channapatna and the large tract of country dependent on it bestowed on himself by the king, his master, illustrates once again how a man of valour can win the goodwill of his sovereign by his gallant deeds.

Jagadevaraya was a born soldier. His practical training in the Vijayanagar army was such that it stood him in good stead ever after in his career. Brave as a warrior, he was greater even in his coolness, and intrepidity in the hour of danger. To frustrate the enemy's object he would take every precaution needed. His disposition of forces was good, his organization of military supplies and needs during a time of siege left nothing to be desired and the equipment of his forces was complete in every detail. In personal bravery he was a shining example to his men. Such was the man who was entrusted with the defence of Penukonda, when it was besieged by the Muhammadan forces of the Bijapur Sultan. These forces, having overrun the western coast regions from Goa to Barkalur, marched on to Penukonda in 1577 and laid siege to it. But the invaders soon found that they had made light of the task before them. Every attack made on the fort was not only successfully

repelled by the heroic efforts of Jagadevaraya but also with heavy and increasing loss to the enemy Jagadevaraya did not rest content with merely repelling the attacks made. He led nightly sorties against the besiegers themselves and created considerable confusion in their ranks. Soon the besiegers saw that they had either to raise the siege or allow themselves to be annihilated where they were by the gallantry exhibited by Jagadeva. Such indeed was the personal bravery of Jagadevaraya during this siege that the Muhammadan Commander was compelled to choose the lesser of the two evils and he raised the siege and marched away from the place. Jagadeva pursued the retiring forces and completed the rout.

The gallant defender was amply rewarded by his sovereign. To his ancestral domains below the ghats, a large tract of country was added which made his territories run from Baramahals in the east to the Western Ghats in the west. Jagadeva made Channapatna his capital and there built for himself a fort and a palace, the remains of the former may still be seen. Though Jagadeva's family had gained some distinction as early as the fourteenth century A.D., still it was the personal bravery and heroism of Jagadeva that made it possible for the family to attain the name and fame it did in the 16th century. For a long time after, his spirited defence was remembered by the common folk and stories were recited about it almost everywhere throughout this part of Southern India. Jagadeva's successors bore rule at Channapatna until 1630 when it was conquered by Chamaraja Wodeyar of Mysore and annexed to his dominions.

44. Kadarappa Naik.

THERE has been a general impression supported by certain facts that the system of Palayaputs or the Government of the country by a number of semi-independent vassals came into existence during the days of the Vijayanagar emperors. But there are some petty states which trace their origin to dates two or three centuries anterior to the establishment and consolidation of that empire. The principality of Gummanayakanapalya appears to have come into existence about the early part of the twelfth century, however these Palayagars under pressure of superior power consented to be the vassals of the Vijayanagar Suzerains paying them annual tributes, and fighting with marked gallantry under their banners in times of trouble.

In the reign of Kadarappa Naik, the twelfth Palavagar of Gummanayakanapalya line, there were manifestations of bravery and self-denial. One Ranga Raja, Palayagar of Chinakarpalli, rebelled against the emperors and was devastating the country by repeated inroads. Kadarappa Naik proceeded with his army, defeated the rebel leader who was taken prisoner and brought to the Imperial capital. This event raised the successful Palayagar in the estimation of Ramaraja, the then emperor, who conferred on him honours and distinctions and kept him for some days in the court of Vijayanagar.

In the meantime Dasara intervened. The court was as usual filled with powerful chieftains and vassals from different countries, wise and far-seeing ministers and councillors,

brave and warlike generals, ambassadors and Pandiths. In fact those that have seen the court of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore during the Dasara and other special occasions can very easily imagine the splendour of the Vijayanagar court.

One day during the festivities when the emperor was seated on the throne with great pomp, a court panegyrist from Yachama Nayaka State, stood up and drawing out a sharp shining dagger from his sheath and shaking it high in the air, recited loudly a small stanza "Is there any hero in this court who is brave and daring enough to show his chest and receive a blow from this dagger? If so, let him come forward". Then all eyes in that court were directed towards that man. The whole Durbar was thunderstruck and sat still for a moment. But Kadarappa Naik, being enraged beyond measure at the covert insult thus offered to that great assembly, rose from his seat and said "You vile flatterer and sycophant, you fountain-head of falsehood, into this great court you rushed like a buffalo and bark like a dog, and dishonour the entire Durbar which contains so many heroes of all descriptions. Look here. I show you my chest, now do what you can". So saying Kadarappa Naik unflinchingly thrust forward his breast and stood motionless. Then that professional flatterer with a roaring voice came forward and gave a blow with his dagger on the Palayagar's chest. The whole body appeared covered with blood. All the people in the court were greatly alarmed. Some doubted the propriety of the commission

of such a heinous act in the presence of the emperor, others disapproved the conduct of the king in permitting such an act; others again spoke in the highest terms of Kadarappa Naik's self-denial in offering his life to vindicate the honour of the court, some others remarked that Kadarappa Naik was the chief of a certain country and that it only manifested extreme case of valour and selflessness in giving his own life at the flatterer's idle talk, but by no means the patience and calm consideration which are indispensable to the ruler of a country; and some others exclaimed that such an act of self-sacrifice for the maintenance of the honour of the court was certainly worthy of a superhuman being. Thus the act elicited various remarks from different standpoints.

But on closer examination it was found that the dagger was a skilful contrivance and that the stroke given on the chest was a slight touch and that the blood was only coloured water. Then the court flatterer's skilful handling and Kadarappa Naik's intrepidity made the entire court quite spell bound. Just at that time the professional panegyrist then and there composed and recited a few verses speaking in laudatory terms of that Palayagar's noble qualities. Kadarappa Naik, quite pleased with the court flatterer, gave away his own necklace of pearls and his own shawl as a present to the man. The emperor who was on the throne was highly pleased with all that he saw and conferred highest encomiums on Kadarappa Naik.

45. Haidar Ali.

(Part I. Haidar till his accession to power)

IN the volume of "Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan" in the 'Rulers of India Series', Mr L Bowring, formerly Chief Commissioner of Mysore, has recorded that perhaps the most formidable adversary whom the British encountered in the south of India, was Haidar Ali, a most daring and successful leader of men, who raised himself to a throne. Haidar Ali was born at Budikote in 1722, and was the son of Fatte Muhammad, Fauzdar of Kolar. Fatte Muhammad having been killed in a battle in 1729, his body was conveyed to Kolar and was there buried in a Mausoleum, which is even now in existence. At this time the wives and children of Fatte Muhammad were residing at Dodballapur, and when intelligence of Fatte Muhammad's death reached Abbas Kuli Khan, the chief of that place, he began to persecute the family of the deceased Fatte Muhammad, and plundered them of almost all their property. Of the two sons of Fatte Muhammad, the elder was Sha Baz, and the younger was Haidar Ali, both of whom were seized, carried into the fort, and there confined in a Nagara or kettle-drum, the head or parchment of which was beaten from time to time in order that, by the pain and distress of these poor orphans, Abbas Kuli Khan might extort more money from their family.

At length much distressed by the conduct of Abbas Kuli, the widow of Fatte Muhammad, through the intercession of Haidar Sahib, a nephew of her husband, who was at the time

in the service of the Mysore Maharaja managed to procure the release of her two sons, and proceeded to Seringapatam. When the brothers arrived at years of discretion, they proceeded to the dominions of the Nawab of Arcot and obtained employment in the military forces there. After some time however, through the good offices of Haidar Sahib with Nanjaraj, the Chief Minister of Mysore at that time, the two brothers returned to Mysore and were employed in the army.

In 1749, when Devanahalli was besieged by the Mysore troops, came the opportunity of Haidar to distinguish himself. Haidar's coolness and courage during the hostilities attracted the notice of Nanjaraj, who gave him the command of 50 horse and 200 foot, with orders to recruit and augment his troops. He was also dignified with the title of 'Haidar Ali Khan' and was given the charge of one of the gates of Devanahalli, then a frontier fortress of Mysore.

About this time Nazir Jung, as Subedar of Deccan, required the help of the Mysore troops in an expedition against Arcot. A force, which included Haidar, was accordingly sent under Berki Venkata Rao, and it joined the main army at Maddagiri. In this expedition when Nazir Jung was treacherously killed and his camp broken up, Haidar took advantage of the confusion, and managed to secure two camel-loads of gold-coins as well as about 300 horses and 500 muskets. Shortly after, the Mysore Troops retired to their own country.

In 1751, Haidar's good fortune again smiled on him, when he was sent to subdue Ganga Ram, Palayagar of Hosur, who had rebelled against the authority of Nanjaraj, and

who, after the manner of Palayagars and chiefs of forts in his vicinity, had attempted to make himself independent. Haidar made a night march and fell 'like a sudden calamity on the sleeping fortunes of the rebels and by stretching forth the arm of courage speedily subdued them' Ganga Ram was made prisoner and was put in irons. As for the rest of the rebels Haidar by one of his vigorous attacks 'soon lightened their shoulders of the weight of their proud heads, and cast their bodies on the field of eternity' He placed strong detachments of his own troops, under commanding officers on whom he could rely in all the chief forts of the Palayagar's country, and then with much treasure and many camels and elephants returned to Seringapatam.

In the same year, Nanjaraj, receiving a mission from Muhammad Ali, whose claims for the Nawabship of Arcot were opposed by Chanda Sahib, was tempted by a promise of the cession of Trichinopoly and its possessions, to lend him assistance though his elder brother Dalvay Devaraj was averse to engage himself in the enterprise. A Mysore army consisting of 5,000 horse and 10,000 infantry marched from Seringapatam, under the command of Nanjaraj, Haidar also joining this army with a small corps of his own. Nanjaraj's wishes to obtain possession of Trichinopoly were, however, frustrated by the treachery of Muhammad Ali, after the assassination of Chanda Sahib; and Nanjaraj returned towards Satyamangala foiled and ashamed at having lost the chance of possessing a rich country and all his exertions being thrown away to no purpose.

At Satyamangala however, Nanjaraj had no peace from his own troops who, for want of their pay, sat in *Dhanna* and forced him to part even with his personal property. Haidar however, remaining faithful to Nanjaraj, remonstrated with him on yielding to the mutineers, and undertook to punish them for their conduct. He then taking 500 musketeers or match-lock men and a store of ammunition with him, marched straight towards the halting ground of the rebel troops, and falling suddenly on them, slew almost all of them and returned to Nanjaraja's camp with all the arms and baggage including money, utensils, horses and the articles they had collected. Nanjaraj, with the exception of the money and articles belonging to himself, presented the whole of the plunder to Haidar Ali whose prudence in this action gained for him great renown.

In 1755, Nanjaraj was required by his elder brother Devaraj, to return to Seringapatam, and he accordingly did so requiring Haidar Ali also who was then engaged in reducing some of the refractory Palayagars, to follow him as early as possible. Haidar lost no time in completing his arrangements and with his own troops consisting of about 3,000 regular infantry, 200 Europeans, 1,000 Carnatic foot and 800 horse with four or five light guns, marched by regular stages to Seringapatam. Nanjaraj was so pleased with Haidar's prowess that he appointed him Fauzdar of Dindigul, and sent him to that charge. Haidar accordingly left, leaving as his agent at Seringapatam, one Khande Rao in whom he had trust.

Haidar however, had soon occasion to return to Seringapatam. On account of the misunderstanding which arose between Nanjaraj and Devaraj, in connection with the treatment the former accorded to the young Maharaja, Immadi Krishnaraj Wodeyar, Devaraj left the capital, proceeded to Satyamangala and settled there. To meet his expenses Devaraj revoked the assignments made to Haidar whom, therefore, Khande Rao advised to return to Seringapatam at once. Before Haidar arrived the Marattas appeared before Seringapatam, and demanded a contribution. Nanjaraj was forced to compromise for 32 lakhs of rupees. But as all the cash and jewels amounted to no more than 5 lakhs, a large tract of country was surrendered in pledge, and the Marattas departed, leaving 6,000 horse, and agents for the collection of revenue in the pledged districts. On Haidar's arrival at Seringapatam, he came to understand how the political situation stood, and with the consent of Nanjaraj, proceeded against the Marattas, and expelled them from the districts in their possession. Haidar then waited on Devaraj, and it was arranged between them for the restoration to him of the revenues which had been resumed.

In 1758, the necessity arose for Haidar to again return to Seringapatam. The troops of Nanjaraj had mutinied and sat in *Dharna* at the gate of the minister. Haidar hearing of the state of affairs returned to Seringapatam with Devaraj. There he found that the jamedars of cavalry, with their men armed and ready, amounting to about 4,000,

had secured the gates of the fort, and stopped all communications with any one, friend or stranger, under pretence of demanding their arrears of pay. Haidar artfully persuaded the mutinous troops that he also was one of the creditors of Government, and that he had been employed on hard service for months, without any pay or assistance whatever, and that if they would allow him, he would join them, and thus obtain the settlement of his own demands. If they did not allow him to do so, the whole country of Mysore was, he said, open to him and he could collect his dues without difficulty. The leaders of the mutinous troops fearing that he might plunder their houses which they had built outside the fort, gave him leave to enter it with a few men, but Haidar, 'that lion of the forest of courage and enterprise', as a Muhammadan historian speaks of him, without the least delay accompanied by two light guns, seven or eight hundred regular infantry, and 200 spearmen on foot, entered the fort, and having posted his men in parties at different places, visited the Maharaja and the minister Nanjara, and offered consolation and comfort to them. He also pleased the jamedars with kind and flattering words, and the troops by his affable manners. Then interviewing the Maharaja and the minister, he pretended that a settlement had been come to and asked for a statement of the dues which had to be paid to the troops.

As Haidar's soldiers were drawn up in companies, parading about the streets and markets with their drums beating and handling their arms, the jamedars, realizing the

position of affairs submitted to Haidar's pleasure Haidar thereupon examined the pay lists of each jamedar, and demanded an actual muster of troops. The jamedars however, could not satisfy this demand, and it was discovered that by the collusion of the writers of the pay-office with the agents of the regiments, they had obtained payment for the full complement of their respective regiments, although as a matter of fact each regiment was far short of the full-number for long periods. Haidar ordered the accounts to be made up by deducting the amount overdrawn for absent men and non-effectives, from the day on which the jamedars and their companies were received into the Mysore Service to the very day they were all required to be mustered. Now, by this mode of reckoning, the mutinous commanders, instead of being creditors, were made debtors to the State in a large amount, and in order to discharge the same were obliged to give up their horses, camels, elephants, tents and utensils and even their clothes. Outwitted by Haidar in this manner, many of the commanders enlisted themselves under Haidar, and were included in his own troops. For this piece of service Nanjaraj granted to him an assignment on the revenues of Coimbatore, and also conferred on him the fort and district of Bangalore as a personal jahagir.

The Marattas, whose troops had been expelled as before stated, returned early in 1759, in great force under Gopal Hari and reoccupying all the pledged districts suddenly appeared before Bangalore, which they invested, and at

the same time sent a detachment which surprised Channapatna. Haidar was appointed by Nanjaraj to the chief command of the army to oppose this invasion. Having given the curl of enterprise to the moustache of his manhood', Haidar arrived and encamped in the vicinity of Channapatna. After three months of war, peace was made with the Marattas by the payment of 32 lakhs of rupees in discharge of all their demands, past and present. To raise the money a *Nazarana* or gift was levied from all the principal public servants and wealthy inhabitants, but only 16 lakhs could be obtained from this source. The Maratta Sowcars however, made themselves responsible for the rest of the money on the personal security of Haidar, on the understanding that he should have the management of the pledged districts in order to realize the amount. At this time, Berki Srinivasa Rao was the 'Killedar' of Bangalore, and after the investment was raised, Haidar appointed to the charge of the fort a certain Kubeer Beg, one of his own friends. On the return of Haidar to Seringapatam, he was received in a splendid durbar by the Maharaja, Immadi Krishnaraj Wodeyar. Nanjaraj on the approach of Haidar rose up to receive him and embraced him, Haidar also being saluted with the title of 'Fatte Haider Bahadur'.

Another opportunity soon presented itself to Haidar for increasing his power. Immadi Krishnaraj was a young man of spirit and Devajammanni, wife of Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar, was also a woman of spirit. Both in co-operation had made attempts from time to time to shake them,

selves free from the control of the brothers Devaraj and Nanjaraj, and after the death of Devaraj they made a fresh attempt to regain their independence. Haidar was now taken into confidence and Nanjaraj yielding to necessity departed from Seringapatam in June 1759. and took up his residence in the fort at Mysore, retaining, as a necessary protection, a body of about 2,000 foot, 600 horse and 500 regular infantry. Nanjaraj, however, was unwilling to return the sannads of the appointments of Pradhan or Prime Minister on the ground that those documents had not been derived during the reign of the then Maharaja but had been given by his fathers and grandfathers to the ancestors of Nanjaraj, generation after generation. Haidar was commissioned to obtain back the seals and sannads of the Prime Minister's office, and he marched with his own troops towards Mysore. He there made a polite request for the papers and the seals but Nanjaraj was unwilling to part with them. In the words of the Muhammadan historian already quoted, 'that lion of the field of battle, hesitating no longer gave orders to his brave soldiers, commenced the attack, who immediately opened a fire of all arms, guns, muskets, etc., on the fort. The fire of war was consequently lighted upon all sides, and both parties fought courageously; but at length, by their valour and strength of arm Haidar's fearless troops brought on the heads of the besieged a resemblance of the day of judgment', still, their chiefs defended themselves with great bravery for three months, when, their provisions and ammunition becoming exhausted, they surrendered, and Nanjaraj, agreeably to the desire

of his friends, accompanied by his family in carriages, proceeded to Haidar's camp, and his troops marched out of the fort Nanjaraj then retired to one of his jahagirs, Konanur, and resided there, maintaining for his protection 600 horse, 2,000 regular infantry and about 4,000 Carnatic foot Khande Rao was made Pradhan, and a further assignment of four districts for the expenses of Haidar was made to him by the Maharaja

At this time Haidar entered into a treaty with the French at Pondicherry to expel the English from Arcot, in consideration of the cession to Mysore of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely. The Mysore troops commanded by Mukhdum Ali, descended the ghats and gained an easy victory over the English at Trivadi in July 1760 But the ambitious prospects which this victory opened up were soon placed in imminent jeopardy by a peril which threatened to blight altogether the career of Haidar

On the departure of Nanjaraj, Immadi Krishnaraj and Devajammanni found that they had only exchanged one mayor of the palace for another, and, winning over Khande Rao to their side, secretly negotiated to obtain the help of the Marattas to expel Haidar from power. On the morning of 12th of August 1761, the fort gates of Seringapatam were not opened as usual and Haidar was roused by a tremendous cannonade upon his position at the 'Mahana-vami Mantap'—the sight of the present Darya Daulat. Haidar realizing the treachery of Khande Rao and the

perilousness of his position escaped that night across the river Cauvery with a few tried followers leaving behind, his wife and his son Tippu, then nine years of age

Haidar took the road to Anekal and arrived before daylight the next day at that place. having ridden 75 miles on one horse From there he despatched Ismail Ali who commanded Anekal to see how matters stood at Bangalore Kabir Bég, the commandant of Bangalore, was found faithful to Haidar, and the latter therefore on receiving the news, at once set out and reached Bangalore the same evening At Bangalore he obtained a loan of four lakhs on his personal security from the sowcars there, and was joined by a few adherents. Visaji Pandit, the Maratta chief, whose help had been sought by the royal party at Seringapatam was found ready to negotiate with Haidar and agreed to depart on the cession of Bara-Mahal and a payment of three lakhs of rupees. The Mysore troops, who had been sent to help the French under Mukhdum Ali relieved by the departure of the Marattas, proceeded to Bangalore and joined Haidar. Detaching Mukhdum Ali's force to secure the revenues of Coimbatore and Salem, Haidar proceeded in person towards Seringapatam He crossed the Cauvery below Sosale and met Khande Rao's army near Nanjangud, but here he was severely defeated and had to retreat

At this crisis the resources of Haidar's mind were found more than equal to the desperateness of his circumstances. With a select body of 200 horse, he made a circuitous march by night and early on the next morning, unarmed and alone,

presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nanjaraj at Konanur. and being admitted, threw himself at his feet 'With the semblance of real penitence and grief' says Wilkes, the historian of Mysore, 'Haidar attributed all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nanjaraj, entreated him to resume the direction of public affairs and take his old servant once more under his protection. Nanjaraj was completely deceived: and with his remaining household troops, which during the present troubles he had augmented to 2,000 horse and about an equal number of indifferent infantry, he gave to the ruined fortunes of Haidar the advantages of his name and influence, announcing in letters despatched in every direction his determination to exercise the office of Sarvadhikari, which he still nominally retained, with Haidar as his Dalwai'.

Khande Rao manœuvred to prevent the junction of Haidar with his army, and had arrived at Katte Malalavadi near Hunsur. The destruction of Haidar and his new friends appeared to be inevitable, when his talent for deception again released him from the danger. He fabricated letters in the name and with the seal of Nanjaraj to the principal officers of Khande Rao who, thinking himself betrayed mounted his horse and fled in haste to Seringapatam. His forces became in consequence disorganized, when Haidar fell upon and routed them, capturing all the infantry, guns stores and baggage. He next descended the ghats, took all the forts that had declared for Khande Rao, and by the month of May 1761, returned to the south of Seringapatam

with a large force. Here for some days he pretended to be engaged in negotiating, and every evening made a show of exercising his troops till after sunset. On the eighth day, instead of dismissing them as usual, he made a sudden dash across the river and surprising Khande Rao's forces, completely routed them and encamped on the island. A few shots fired at the palace inside the fort frightened the inmates, and the Maharaja, yielding to Haidar's demand for the surrender of Khande Rao, obtained a promise from him to spare Khande Rao's life, and surrendered him accordingly. The Maharaja was also forced to resign the entire management of the country into the hands of Haidar, reserving only districts, yielding three lakhs of pagodas for himself and one lakh for Nanjaraj. Haidar who had promised to take care of Khande Rao like a 'thotha' (parrot), implying kind treatment, fulfilled his promise to the letter, by confining him in an iron cage and giving him rice and milk for his food in which condition he ended his days.

From this time forth all political power became vested in Haidar, and he practically became the ruler of Mysore, but scrupulously continued all the forms of royalty due to the hereditary sovereigns of Mysore.

46. Haidar Ali.

(Part II.—Haidar as conqueror and ruler.)

HAVING placed Seringapatam under the command of his brother-in-law, Haidar proceeded after two months to Ban-

galore and became an ally of Basalat Jung, a brother of the Subedar of Deccan who wished to displace his brother and claim that dignity for himself. In return for a gift of three lakhs of rupees, Basalat Jung, although he had no authority to do so, invested Haidar with the office of Nawab of Sira, styling him 'Haidar Ali Khan Bahadur'.

Sira was then in the hands of the Marattas and Haidar laying siege to the fort, completely knocked down the walls. The chief of the fort Triambak Krishna did not lose heart, but for a month continued valiantly to perform his duty as 'killedar', and when defence became hopeless, he surrendered to Haidar on condition that his own life as well as the lives of his garrison should be spared. Here Haidar found large quantities of provisions and military stores which he appropriated to his own use. Here Basalat Jung left Haidar and the latter next turned his attention to the reduction of the Palayagars of Chikballapur, Raidrug, Harapanahally and Chitaldrug, all of whom he compelled to submit to his authority and to pay tribute.

While Haidar was encamped near Chitaldrug, his assistance was solicited by a pretender to the kingdom of Bednur, who gave himself out as the son of the last Raja of that country. In 1755, Basavappa Naik, the ruling chief, had died, leaving his widow Veerammaji as guardian of an adopted son named Channabasaviah. This youth is said to have been murdered by the widow and her paramour, but the claimant who sought Haidar's help averred that he was in effect the heir alleged to have been killed and that

he had escaped the machinations of the Rani and her lover.

Haidar set out in the beginning of 1763 on this expedition and with the help of a minister of the late Raja whom he found at Kumsi, he proceeded towards the capital. The Rani's overtures for buying him off were rejected and Haidar pressed on to the capital. The Rani had fled to the fortress of Ballalraidrug and the inhabitants to the woods, and the palace had been set on fire. Haidar, however, promptly extinguished the flames and the value of the property acquired by him at the place amounted to 18 crores of rupees. The Rani was subsequently arrested at Ballalraidrug and despatched to the hill fort of Maddagiri where she died in a few years.

Haidar at first thought of making Bednur which he named Haidar-Nagar, his capital, and formed designs for building there a palace, an arsenal and a mint besides constructing a dockyard on the coast.

While engaged in this work, he detected a conspiracy formed against him, and adopting severe measures, he hanged 300 of the conspirators and suppressed all signs of revolt. The Muhammadan historian already referred to concludes his account of the entry of Haidar into the fort of Bednur with these words:—"For fifteen days, he held a banquet during which season of festivity, he enjoyed the sound of music and the abundance of good things provided for the feast; he then gave to the poor, the religious, musicians and dancing women, presents of gold and silver ornaments, valuable clothes and shawls: also, to the brave chiefs of

his army, and his soldiers, who had distinguished themselves by their gallantry, and had perilled their lives in this conquest, besides what they obtained in the assault of the fort, which by Haidar's orders was what they could take of heaps of gold and silver, valuable stuffs, jewels, pearls, arms of all kinds and a great number of beautiful women, the value of all which was sufficient to place them all above the worldly wants,—to these valiant men, he now again gave costly presents, and honorary dresses, gold bracelets, pearl necklaces, jewelled gorgets, splendid swords and lastly jahagirs or fiefs, according to their rank and respective capacities”

Haidar now thought it time to appease the Marattas and the Nizam, the former for the seizure of Sira, the latter for accepting the title of Nawab from Basalat Jung. Embassies with gifts were accordingly sent to both the courts. At Hyderabad his objects were gained but the Marattas could not be reconciled. Madhu Rao was the Peshwa at this time, and being an able and energetic ruler, he made extensive preparations to compel Haidar to surrender the territory he had usurped. Haidar was overwhelmed by the Maratta horse at Rattihalli, south of Savanur, where in spite of his skilful manœuvres he was signally defeated, losing the best portion of his troops. Haidar had at length to sue for peace by paying 32 lakhs of rupees as war-indemnity and by surrendering the territories formerly taken from Murari Rao of Gutti. Haidar was not, however, disturbed in the possession of Sira, or of the tract wrested

by him from the neighbouring Palayagars

Haidar's defeat by the Marattas led to an insurrection in the eastern part of Mysore. As soon as he was able to restore order he turned his eyes to an invasion of Malabar, on the plea that it formed part of the Bednur country. Haidar in spite of the gallant resistance of the Nairs and the difficulty of forcing his way through the thick forests which impeded his progress, succeeded in reaching Calcut, when the Zamorin tendered his submission. The chiefs of Cochin and Palghat also submitted to the conqueror, and Haidar, after strengthening the fort of Calcut, proceeded to Coimbatore. Shortly after his departure, the Nairs rose in insurrection, but Haidar, in spite of the inclemency of the season and the flooded state of the country, advanced boldly into the interior, his troops, owing to the heavy rain, having frequently to cross the mountain streams up to their chins in water, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Nairs. To strike terror into the insurgents, Haidar at first beheaded or hanged all who were taken prisoners and also deported 15,000 Nairs to the less populous parts of Mysore, of whom however not 200 survived owing to the alien nature of the climate.

Returning to the capital in 1767, he heard of a formidable coalition formed by the Marattas with the Nizam for the purpose of invading Mysore. Haidar endeavoured to stop the progress of the Marattas by cutting the embankments of the tanks, poisoning the water in the wells, burning the forage, and driving off the villagers and cattle on their route.

But the Peshwa Madhu Rao overcame all these obstacles and reached Sira, then held by Mir Ali Raza Khan, Haidar's brother-in-law, who treacherously surrendered the fort and deserted Haidar's cause, receiving in reward the district of Gurramkonda. By the skilful diplomacy of Appaji Rao, however, who was despatched as an envoy by Haidar, Madhu Rao was pacified and he returned to Poona on receiving 35 lakhs of rupees.

The Peshwa's ally Nizam Ali who was accompanied by an English corps appeared too late on the scene to reap any fruits from his enterprise. Haidar induced Nizam Ali to enter into an alliance with him against the Madras Government. Their combined armies then descended into the low country and at Changama, Trincomalee and other places, engagements took place between the English and the hostile armies with varying fortunes. At this time Nizam Ali, having received information that the English had sent a considerable force to attack his own territory, made secret overtures to the English and concluding a treaty with them returned to his capital. Meanwhile a fleet was fitting out at Bombay for capturing the Mysorean forts on the West Coast, and the chiefs of Malabar were prepared to rebel. Haidar marched with all haste to the west and retook Mangalore, Honnawar, and other places which had fallen to the English. He then visited Bednur and levied heavy fines on all the land-holders for furnishing supplies to his enemies. He also obtained large contributions from the chiefs of Malabar.

After the withdrawal of Haidar from the eastern frontier, the Madras Government sent troops to reduce all the places seized by him, and Colonel Smith, the English General, advanced into the Mysore plateau and took Mulbagal, Kolar and Hosur. The vacillations of the Madras Government however, enabled Haidar to return from his distant expedition to Bangalore and to confront the English before any further steps had been taken. Failing in this object, however, he sent off his family and treasure to the rock fortress of Savandrug, made his way to Gurramkonda where he succeeded in inducing his brother-in-law, Ali Raza Khan to rejoin his standard with his trained troops. Thus reinforced Haidar returned towards Kolar and he was here, there and everywhere, harassing the enemy with his cavalry. He also raised fresh levies of troops and in November 1768, sent a large force down the Gajalatti pass, following himself a month later with the greater part of his army. Haidar then reconquered all the districts which had been taken from him by the English and proceeding towards Madras accompanied by 6,000 chosen horse and a very few infantry, he reached St. Thomas Mount, five miles from Madras, by a forced march of 130 miles, in three days and a half. Here he was practically able to dictate his own terms and an agreement was concluded in March 1769, for the restoration on both sides of prisoners and places and for reciprocal assistance in the future. An English writer remarks in connection with this war that "it cannot be denied that, both in regard to the military operations which preceded this treaty and to the conditions which it embodied, the Mysore

chief evinced high qualities as a tactician and the sagacity of a born diplomatist. On the other hand, the proceedings of the Madras Government were characterised by a mixture of rashness and irresolution, and an absurd confidence in their treacherous ally Muhammad Ali Nawab of Arcot, of whose duplicity Haidar had, on the contrary, formed an accurate estimate "

Haidar had now to prepare for another formidable invasion of Mysore by the Marattas. The English failed to render him any help and Haidar was left alone to bear the brunt of the Maratta attack. He at first offered to treat for terms, but as Madhu Rao, the Peshwa, demanded a crore of rupees, Haidar rejected this exorbitant demand. Madhu Rao then proceeded to overrun the country, but he soon returned to Poona on account of illness, leaving his maternal uncle Triambak Mama in command. Haidar was unable to push back Triambak Mama. At Chincuruly the Maratta horse succeeded in creating a panic among the Mysore troops and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. Haidar escaped alone and unattended to Seringapatam, and was soon after followed by Tippu in the disguise of a fakir or a mendicant. This disastrous affair occurred on March 5, 1771. The Marattas, however, did not pursue their advantage immediately but wasted many days in pillaging the country around, thus enabling Haidar to take measures for the effectual defence of his capital. After struggling for more than a year, Haidar concluded peace with the Marattas in June 1772 and agreed to pay at once

15 lakhs of rupees and a like sum afterwards, some of his richest districts being given in pledge.

Haidar, however, was not long in recovering possession of the districts which he had been forced to cede to the Marattas. Madhu Rao died in 1772, his successor Narayana Rao was killed in August 1773 and Raghunatha Rao became Peshwa, whose accession was however opposed by Nanafarnavis and other ministers at Poona. Taking advantage of the unsettled position, Haidar regained possession of all the territory he had lost, and Raghunatha Rao also feeling his position insecure, entered into a treaty with Haidar by which the latter engaged himself to support Raghunatha Rao in consideration of the tribute payable from Mysore being reduced to six lakhs. Raghunatha Rao also proposed to Haidar to take possession of the Maratta territories up to the Krishna, that he might be at hand to assist. On the other side, Nizam Ali of Hyderabad declaring for the ministerial party, a joint invasion of Mysore was the consequence. A great battle took place at a place called Raravi and the Maratta army was forced to retreat beyond the Krishna in December 1777. Haidar returned to Seringapatam and while expecting a fresh Maratta invasion, he was surprised by the arrival of an envoy from the ministerial party at Poona. Raghunatha Rao had become a fugitive and induced by the hopelessness of his cause, Haidar consented to a treaty with the ministerial party on condition that Raghunatha Rao's grant of territories up to the Krishna was confirmed, the future tribute fixed at 11 lakhs of rupees and all arrears.

cancelled. He also agreed to enter into a coalition with the Marattas and the Nizam for the expulsion of the English from India, Haidar having a grievance against the English inasmuch as the Madras Government had failed to give him support as per the treaty of 1769.

During the period between 1772 and 1779 Haidar conquered and annexed to Mysore. Coorg, Bellary, Gutta, Chitaldrug and Cuddapah. Murari Rao was the chief of Gutta and being closely besieged by Haidar, he had to unconditionally surrender to him. The following extract from the work of the Muhammadan historian, already referred to will be found interesting. 'To complete his (Murari Rao's) misfortunes, the water of the mountain, by which the fort was supplied, it being the hot season, failed or dried up, like the heart of the poor man; and his stores of provision and ammunition also had abandoned him, or were exhausted like the days of his youth. Being therefore entirely hopeless, he despatched Pali Khan, his minister to the Nawab, to tender his submission and beg the forgiveness of his former offences. When the Nawab became aware of his humility, his supplication and his forlorn state, he cast the eyes of royal compassion on his hopeless condition and returned him, by his agent Pali Khan, a kind and conciliatory letter, with a *Kowl-nama* or assurance of the safety of his life and property and invited him to meet him. When the Rao descended from the top of the hill in a palanquin, attended by only two or three servants, and entered the camp, the Nawab ordered a separate tent to be cleared for his

accommodation and placed him in it sending a garrison of his own men to the top of the hill. He gave to the Rao, the necessary furniture or the utensils, the wearing apparel or clothes in use, and such jewels and gold and silver ornaments as were of small value. But the pearls and jewels of great price, jewelled ornaments, and other articles, becoming the use of a Prince, with the arms and warlike stores, and all articles of value, the Nawab took for himself. With respect to the dancing women of the Telingana tribe, of whom during the Rao's Government, many companies had been attracted by his liberality, and of whom some had become rich by his gifts, while some even had possession of towns in jaghir, all of whom sought refuge in the Mahal of the Rao, on the top of the mountain, when the siege commenced, to these excepting the Jahagirs the Nawab restored the whole of their property. Some of the young girls of that profession, with the consent of their masters or owners, he purchased for his own *Natiksals*. The imprisoned Rao, however much he entreated to visit the Nawab received for answer that the Nawab had then no leisure; but that after his return to Pattan, please God, he would accord his request, and having committed him to the care of confidential men and sent him off to Pattan, the Nawab occupied himself in the conquest of Soondoor''.

The Palayagar of Chitaldrug, at the time it was annexed by Haidar in 1779, was Madakari Naik, and he was the head of a brave military clan of Bedars. These Bedars heroically fought against Haidar though ultimately

defeated, and the Muhammadan historian who has been often quoted, gives this account of their gallantry :—"The Nawab with a very large army and a large body of excellent artillery, after the exertions and labours of a year and the loss of the lives of thousands of brave men, took the ghats in the neighbourhood of the forts, and, arriving near the walls of this very stronghold, seeking fame, he surrounded and attacked it on all sides. Every day also, the infidels, armed to the teeth, came out from the fort and gallantly assailed the bravest and the noblest of the Ghazies, or Musalman soldiers. On the side of the Nawab, the noble and distinguished Khans and Fauzdars with their brave companions, came forward and ranged themselves in front and in line with the ranks of infidels, and daily with arrows and the sword, sent great numbers of them to hell... .

"Although in a few days the walls of the fort were levelled to the ground, and the towers and gates were dismantled and afforded no shelter, still the besieged every night formed a new wall of earth in their places to cover themselves and sallied out from the fort, and raised the confusion of the day of judgment among the guards and sentinels at the batteries : and taking the heads of the slain and tying them to a string hung them round their necks like red roses and thus returned and received rewards from their chiefs for the deeds they had done".

After Cuddapah was taken, a number of Afghans who were in the service of the chief of that place as could give

security for their allegiance, were taken into Haidar's service. But there were eighty troopers, whose horses had been killed, and who could not find any one to be surety for them. They refused to be disarmed and Haidar did not enforce the surrender of their weapons. Feeling insulted by the demand for their arms these troopers rose in the dead of the night, killed the guards placed over them and entered the tent of Haidar. Haidar being roused by the noise, at once grasped the situation and making up the semblance of a person asleep with a pillow, cut a hole through his tent and succeeded in escaping. On the alarm being given most of the assassins were slain. Such of them as survived had their hands and feet cut off while a few were killed by being dragged round the camp attached to the feet of the elephants.

The coalition against the English referred to above was a formidable one, and aided as it was by the French, threatened the very existence of the British power in India. The general scheme of the confederacy was that the Marattas should invade Berar, Central and Northern India, while Nizam Ali of Hyderabad undertook the subjugation of the Circars, and Haidar Ali, that of the Madras territory and Southern India. Haidar having completed his preparations for this invasion and having made due provision for the protection of all the principal parts in Mysore, assembled an army of 83,000 men at Bangalore, which in regard to efficiency was not surpassed by any previously collected in Southern India. His system of maintaining

scouts and spies was perfect, the Commissariat under Purniah was well organized, and every precaution was taken to ensure success. After prayers for success in both mosques and temples, Haidar Ali descended the ghats in July 1780 carrying destruction with him. On September 10th of the same year a battle was fought at Palilore where the English sustained a crushing defeat,* and Colonel Baily, the commander, was forced to surrender with his troops. Haidar, however, had to sustain the struggle single-handed, as by the skilful diplomacy of Warren Hastings, who was then Governor-General, both the Marattas as well as Nizam Ali were detached from the coalition. Haidar, though he was not able to achieve his main object of driving the English out of Southern India, maintained the struggle till his death by over-running large tracts of their country and occupying most of their forts. During the monsoon in 1782 all the combatants had to cease hostilities for a time, and Haidar encamped with his troops sixteen miles north of Arcot, at a place called Narasingrayanpet, and here he died on December 7, 1782, from a cancer on his back from which he long suffered. His last day is thus described by the Muhammadan historian, Kirmani — "On the last day of Muharram-II-Huram, he asked his attendants what was the date of the month: they replied, 'this is the last day of the month Zil-Haj, and to-night is the first of Muharram'. He then directed that water might be made ready for him

* This disaster was commemorated at Seringapatam by an elaborate painting on the walls of the Daria Daulat garden where it is still to be seen.

to bathe, and although the physician objected to his bathing, they turned him out of the tent, and the Nawab bathed. Then having put on clean clothes, he repeated some prayer or invocation on his finger, rubbing his face: and at the same time, despatched 2,000 horse to plunder and ravage the country of the Palayagars north of Arcot, and 5,000 horse towards Madras for the same purpose, and to alarm the people there. He next sent for some of his officers and gave them strict orders for the regulation of their departments, and afterwards swallowed a little broth, and laid down to rest. The same night his ever victorious spirit took its flight to paradise. And at once Haidar, and what belonged to Haidar passed away”.

The following estimate of Haidar is given by Mr. L. B. Bowring:—“Haidar was a born-soldier, an excellent rider, and skilful alike with his sword and his gun. Trained by early habits to active exertion, he could undergo great fatigue without suffering from it, and when at the head of his troops, he was reckless of personal danger, thus stimulating the courage of his followers. Cool and sagacious in war time, he excelled in cavalry tactics, and seemed to possess by intuition the knowledge how to launch his horse-men with the greatest effect on the enemy.

“On great occasions he made a magnificent show with his chosen troops. His regiments of cavalry in which were many Europeans, headed his procession; then followed 500 warriors mounted on camels; after which came the State-elephants with richly embroidered trappings; then

two regiments of Abyssinian horse, wearing plumes of red and black ostrich feathers and carrying steel-headed lances; followed by infantry wearing large silk scarves with drawers, reaching to the thigh, and armed with lances to which small bells were attached. Next came the nobility, gorgeously arrayed, covered with chain-armour and splendidly mounted. Then came the Nawab's own horses, richly decorated, and led by grooms. To these succeeded a troop of running footmen, and then the principal officers of the household, with chains of gold hanging down their breasts. Lastly, at the end of the procession came Haidar himself mounted on an elephant captured in the Bednur country. The rear consisted of a large number of elephants, five of which carried special royal insignia, and after them two more regiments of Abyssinian cavalry, and a crowd of foot-soldiers of the same nation who closed the procession. On each side of the line of march moved a body of infantry clothed in white silk with long black lances, plated with silver, and adorned with small red streamers at the tips. The whole made up a gallant array, which could only be surpassed by that of the great Mogul himself.

“Haidar could neither read nor write, and his signature was simply the Arabic letter ‘h’ for Haidar, twice repeated in an inverted form. But his memory was excellent, and his affairs proceeded in regular succession and with rapid despatch. He had the faculty of giving his attention to several subjects at the same time, so that he could ~~inst~~ ^{at} a letter read, dictate orders, and witness a the State

exhibition all at once, without being distracted by any one of these occupations. What religion people professed, or whether they professed any at all, that was perfectly indifferent to him. In all the cities and towns of his territory, besides news-writers, he appointed separately secret-writers and spies to patrol the streets at night, and from them he received his intelligence. From sun-rise to past-noon, he was occupied in Public Durbar, he then made his first meal and retired to rest an hour or two. In the evening he either rode out or returned to business. But frequently the night was enlivened with the performance of dancing girls or of actors of comedies. He took a second meal about midnight and retired to rest."

[*Authorities*—Kirmani's History of Haider, L. B. Bowring's Haider and Tippu, Wilke's History of Mysore, Buchanan's Travels in Mysore, etc., Rice's Gazetteer.]

47. Maharani Lakshammanni of Mysore.

THE number of women who have appeared in history, and to whose lot it has fallen to play a part on the stage of public life, has been so small, that a peculiar interest attaches to the sayings and doings of those whose names have become historical, and who have successfully competed with men for honourable mention in the annals of their country.

500 what eager and sympathetic curiosity are the incidents State: to the life of the semi-fabulous Queen Semiramis

of the Assyrians, or the coquettish but masterful Queen Elizabeth of England, or the pious and resourceful Ahalya Bai of Indore examined, with what enthusiastic admiration are their memories greeted, and with what chivalry are their very defects ignored ! All the more reason, therefore, for us to keep alive the memory of those women who have done noble deeds and rendered valuable service to their country. And in India more, perhaps than in any other country is this a necessity and a duty, for here the *Ghoshā* system and the restrictions of society conceal the masterly qualities of many a woman behind the *Purda*, and cause her to pass out of the world unnoticed. The history of Mysore can boast of one brave and noble woman, who did yeoman service to the State, and it is nothing more than bare justice to record the distinguished part played by the Maharani Lakshammanni, ancestress of H H the present Maharaja, during the stirring period of the usurpation of the Mysore throne by Haidar and Tippu in the last century.

‘Rana’ Lakshammauni, as she is usually addressed in the letters of General Meadows, Lord Macartney and Mr. Webbe, or ‘Maha Matusri’ Lakshammanni, as she is uniformly designated in Mysore records, was the daughter of Katti Gopal Raja Urs, the chief whom Muhammad Ali admitted, with seven hundred Mysore troops, into the fort of Trichinopoly, in acknowledgment of Dulvai Nanjaraj’s right to it according to the stipulation for help against Chanda Sahib, and who subsequently was detained as a State

prisoner by the English, when Captain Dalton turned out the Mysore troops from the fort. Lakshammanni belonged to the Bettada Kotai family, the same family from which the present Maharaja of Mysore is descended. Living at first a quiet and uneventful life as Hindu girls in the homes of their parents usually do, it is not strange that we do not hear anything of Lakshammanni till 1759, when she was married to Immadi Krishnaraj Wodeyar, and took her place in the palace at Seringapatam as his third wife.

The Royal House of Mysore had never calmly acquiesced in the transfer of their power to the hands of either Dulvoï Nanjaraj or his protegé, Haidar Ali. Nanjaraj had been grasping and greedy, and had even gone the length of suggesting to his daughter, who was married to the Raja, that she should poison her husband for attempting to assert his rights. To his credit, however, it must be said that Nanjaraj had a clear insight into the ambitious nature of Haidar Ali, and on his death-bed he counselled those about him not to give him any independent preferments. It became more and more apparent, however, that genius could not be repressed, and accordingly the dowager Maharani Devajammanni, who had adopted Immadi Krishnaraja as her son, entered into a secret plot with Khandé Rao, the agent of Haidar Ali, at Seringapatam. The desperate courage of Haidar, his powers of simulation and his extraordinary self-confidence and mental resources triumphed in the end, and the upshot of the plot was that Khandé Rao was surrendered to Haidar Ali, who according to his

promise literally "took care of him like a parrot", by putting him into a cage and exposing him to the public gaze. Haider himself was rewarded with the office of *Sarvadhikari*, and his usurpation became complete by about 1761, though he kept up a show of submission to the nominal Raja till his death.

Immadi Krishnaraja died in 1766, and was succeeded by his sons, Nanjaraj and Chamaraj. Nanjaraj was strangled by Haider's orders for intriguing against him with the Maratta chieftain Tryambaka Rao, and Chamaraj's nominal reign came to an end by his death about the year 1776. As both the sons of Immadi Raja died without leaving any successors to the throne, Lakshammanni, who was now the surviving dowager Rani, communicated to Haider her intention of adopting either her sister's son Narasaraj of Maddur, or Siddaraj, the grandson of Immadi Krishnaraja by the daughter of his first wife. Haider, however, with mock-humility represented to the Rani his solicitude to provide a worthy successor to the throne, and adopted a mode of selection which was as startling as it was original. A number of Ursoo children were assembled in a room where sweets, toys, and other things attractive to young minds had been placed, and were asked to help themselves to whatever they wished. In the scramble, Chamraj, son of Devaraj of Arakotara, and now known by the name of Chamrajnagar, selected a dagger and a mirror, a selection which was considered by Haider to be an indication of royalty.

in the young child of three years of age, and he was accordingly installed on the Mysore throne

Lakshammanni plainly understood that Haider's assumed deference was really a covert slight to her own wishes, and an utter disregard of her feelings, and raised no protestation as it was obviously of no avail. She secretly sent a request to Lord Pigott, Governor of Madras, for help to re-establish the Hindu dynasty, and at his suggestion appointed Tirumal Rao, who had settled in Madras after the fall of his patron, Anche Timmayya a short time before, as her agent to hold communications with the Madras Government. In her letter to Tirumala Rao the Rani said —

‘ You are to go without delay to Chennapatna, there give him the accompanying letter and make secret arrangements with Lord Pigott for the restoration for our Raj. We undertake to pay one crore of rupees of the expenses of the English army and thirty lakhs for durbar expenses. In our letter to Lord Pigott, we have stated that you possess full authority from us to enter into any agreement with the English Government on our behalf, such as may be justified by time, place and circumstances. We promise to reward you with ten per cent commission on the revenues, and to perpetuate the Dewanship in hereditary succession in your family, besides defraying all your domestic expenses as long as you may live.’

The arrest and supersession of Lord Pigott interrupted the negotiations, and Tirumal Rao retired to Tanjore.

The devastations of Haidar Ali, and the serious danger with which Madras was threatened in the second Mysore War, induced Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, to authorize Mr Sullivan, the Resident at the court of Tanjore, to conclude a treaty with Tirumal Rao acting on behalf of the Rani of Mysore. It was concluded on the 28th of October, 1782, and bears the signatures of Tirumal Rao, Naram Rao, Mysore *Pradhans*, and of John Sullivan, the British Resident, together with the attestation of the Rev Swarts who was held in very high esteem on account of his intimate acquaintance with the vernacular languages, and his unblemished and exemplary character. This treaty was ratified by the Madras Government on the 27th of November, 1782, subject to the confirmation of the Governor-General. The Rani clearly foresaw that the safety of her House lay in cementing her friendship with the English, and accordingly she requested that the English should guard her country, and that for that purpose they should provide "sepoys, soldiers, gunners, and officers, together with the necessary ammunition, in the same manner as they looked after the Maharaja of Tanjore." In consideration of such services she agreed to pay to the Company a *Peishcash* of five lakhs of pagodas a year in monthly instalments, besides making over to the English such parts of the country yielding one lakh of pagodas a year as they might choose.

It was part of the programme for putting an end to the Muhammadan usurpation of Mysore that a rising was to

take place in Seringapatam, under the leadership of Shamaiya, chief of the Anché and Police Departments. In November 1782, the Rani thus wrote to Tirumal Rao "Here, Shamaiya and several others are in our favour. On the approach of the English force we can easily seize the treasury and the gates. Expedite the despatch of English troops by the Guzulhatty and Kaveripuram pass" The plot however, became known on the very eve of execution (the 23rd of July, 1783), and the ringleaders were subjected to horrible tortures and killed. Peace was concluded with Tippu in 1784, and the treaty on behalf of Lakshammanni became inoperative. Moreover, when Karur was taken in April, 1783, and the Mysore colours were hoisted on its ramparts, Tirumal Rao had failed to pay immediately one lakh of rupees in accordance with the stipulation made.

Lakshammanni did not, however, abandon the attempt for the restoration of her family. In 1790, General Meadows wrote in reply to a letter from her :—

"God knows when Tippu may die and leave the country. Victory is God's grace. If He will enable us to restore the kingdom to the rightful rulers, we will be indeed very happy. We cannot discuss now about the distribution of territories. As the Nizam and the Marattas are our allies, we cannot settle the point ourselves. It is right that you should bear the cost of the war, and it is also very good that you promise to pay prize money to the troops."

Lakshammanni's pertinacity of character and pious faith in the justice of her cause become apparent from some of

her letters to Tirumal Rao and Mornington. These letters are, so full of pathetic interest and touching appeal that no apology is needed for reproducing them more fully than in the case of the other letters. Writing to Tirumal Rao a few days after the death of Chamaraj in 1796, she said —

“We have at frequent intervals sent information to you regarding our state here. It is twenty-two years since you left this country. We are daily exposed to the persecutions of the *Yavana Ralshasa** here. He has heaped indignities on us, and under the pretext of small-pox, he succeeded by secret means in killing Chamraj Wodeyar. He has stripped us of even our wearing apparel, and ejected us from the palace. At the palace gate, a number of eunuchs and maid servants searched our person, spoke to us in a vile and disgraceful manner, gave us three cubits of cloth, and extorted from us the money and jewels which we always carried with us as a provision against times of difficulty and danger. We have been given but ten *Ankanams* for lodging in Kantirava Ursoo’s old house, and we are kept under rigorous surveillance. Only twelve of our maid-servants have been left with us, and of the rest, some have been converted to Muhammadanism, and are forced to serve in Tippu’s garden, kitchen, and stores; some have been given up for disgraceful purposes, and some have been sent to work at the fort repairs. We receive *ragi* doles, and are

forced to cook in earthen pots and eat on leaves. Tippu is bent on destroying us at no distant date. He may send assassins any moment to kill us. The difficulties and risks that you underwent for our sake were innumerable; you earned the goodwill and support of Mr John Sullivan and many other English officers; you concluded favourable agreements on our behalf and you sacrificed seven hundred of our friends and relatives to the wrath of this inhuman monster. We are over-borne with grief for the ruin that we have brought on you, the more so as our earnest wish to see our family restored and all our promises fulfilled is not likely to be realized. It becomes evident that a violent death awaits us at the hands of the tyrant. The reason for the cruel treatment accorded to us is that a French agent has warned Tippu that to spare our life would ultimately lead to his own ruin. * * * We have herewith sent a copy of the agreement made by Tippu with the French. You are requested to show it to the Governor, and unless the English troops arrive before the French and despatch the *Yavana Rakshasa*, the danger to the English dominions will not be averted, nor will one's life be safe. If any delay occurs as happened on two or three former occasions, the alliance between Tippu and the French will be like that between fire and wind, and the whole country will be devastated and the people ruined. Even if the Governor has no consideration for our life and for our miseries, still you are to inform him that for the safety of the Company's territories, it is expedient to despatch English troops without delay. Till then, we hope to preserve our life, and if the

English disappoint us, our life will be in our own hands.
 * * * If our wishes are realized, and if our family is reinstated, we promise to pay one crore of pagodas towards the expenses of the English army, provided the English are willing to abide by the agreement concluded with Mr. Sullivan. We will further undertake to defray all durbar expenses, and we will confer jaghirs on Mr. Sullivan and other prominent English officers. The *Yavana Rakshasa* is day by day growing more and more tyrannical, his behaviour has disgusted both his own people and others, and his own troops will rise against him. The English troops have now a good opportunity, for there are no able military commanders to oppose them, and everybody wishes that evil should befall Tippu. Provisions and water can be easily procured along any route that the army may take. If you will employ your usual ability and tact now, God Sree Ranganatha will help us."

In February, 1799, Lakshammanni sent copies of a letter to Lord Mornington, Governor-General, and to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras. This letter recapitulates the negotiations carried on with the Company's Government for help, and contains a further appeal for the assistance of the English against Tippu. It reads as follows :—

"The Lord Mornington and Lord Clive, endowed with wealth and with all good qualities, the esteemed among princes.

"Rani Lakshammanni's greetings :—Of old, by the grace

of God our ancestors obtained the sovereignty of Mysore and reigned with justice and wisdom. Recently, when Haidar, who was in our service proved a traitor to us, put to death many of our relatives and dependents, plundered the palace four times, and with the means obtained there conquered countries and began to defy us, we, unable to bear Haidar's persecution, thus reasoned within ourselves :— 'The English are a just and wise people. By cultivating their friendship, we may enjoy happiness and safety for a long time ' And in the Hindu year *Pramathi* we communicated our intentions through Muhammad Ali to the then Governor of Madras. Muhammad Ali in reply said . 'If you will cancel the stipulation for the cession of Trichinopoly and surrender the bond given by me to Nanjaraj for the loan taken from him at Srirangam during the strife with Chanda Sahib, we will restore liberty to Katti Gopal Rajaiya, your father, and with him send English troops to put down Haidar and re-establish your rule.' As Muhammad Ali took a solemn oath to abide by his words, the same year we sent our agent to the then Governor of Madras. A few years after, relying upon the assurances of Lord Pigott, we sent our *Pradhan* Tirumal Rao to him . Lord Pigott is not, however, to blame ; he became involved in serious trouble. Again, in the Hindu year, *Subhakritu*, Lord Macartney held out some encouragement, and many people promised to support us. The design to capture Tippu and restore our rule was revealed to him by some wicked persons when it was about to be executed, and the revenge he took resulted in the massacre of seven hundred men, women, and children. What took place in

the Hindu year *Sadharana* during the time of General Meadows is well known to you. When peace had been concluded with the English, Tippu, listening to the words of his French advisers, by some secret means brought about the death of the Raja, plundered the palace, and drove us out from thence, stripped us of our apparel leaving us only with the cloth we had on, and now keeps us in close confinement. We have recently heard that the Almighty conferred on you high distinctions, and sent you to this country, doubtless to relieve us from our miseries. We have also heard that you are generous, good-intentioned and pious; we therefore seek your protection. Take pity on us; look to fame, justice and God, rid us of this enemy, and restore our country to us according to former agreements."

Mr Webbe, replying to this letter on the 16th of April, 1799, wrote —

"The three letters you sent, one to me, one to His Lordship of Bengal, and one to His Lordship here, your *Pradhan* Tirumal Rao delivered to me, and they gave us much pleasure. Your *Pradhan* Tirumal Rao has for a long period continued to give us every information respecting you, and their lordships solemnly promise to serve you — a fact which your *Pradhan* must have mentioned to you. You may rest assured that there will be no end to our friendship. We have now declared war against Tippu. But we know not what will be the result. God only knows it. I cannot write much on that head, but after the war is over, they will attend to your business. There is no doubt."

The fall of Seringapatam is a matter of history. Tippu had never forgiven the English for forcing him in 1792 to submit to the humiliating condition of parting with half his dominions. He sought the aid of the French, and sent a mission to the Isle of France. These hostile intentions becoming known to the Earl of Mornington, he demanded further security from Tippu, and warned him "that dangerous consequences result from the delay of arduous affairs." Tippu would not take the warning. The popular saying that Haider was born to create an Empire and Tippu to lose one pithily summed up the merits of the father and the son. The English troops were set in motion against the Tiger of Mysore, and on the memorable 4th of May, 1799, Seringapatam fell. Tippu was killed, and Lakshammanni's long-cherished wish was realized. Lakshammanni's despairing appeal for help was made in February, 1799, and the young Krishnaraja Wodeyar was installed on the throne of his forefathers in June following. The negotiations with the English Commissioners for the re-establishment of the Mysore Raj were conducted by Lakshammanni through Purniah with much propriety and tact, and with him she signed the treaty on behalf of the young Maharaja. After this Lakshammanni lived a quiet life.

The exact year of Lakshammanni's death cannot be ascertained. It is certain that she was living in the year 1808, and it is equally certain that she died before 1815. She survived her husband, Immadi Krishnaraja, by nearly forty-five years, and passed through many vicissitudes of fortune.

from the extremes of anguish, despair and humiliation, to exalted position and unbounded power for good Mr Wilkes, the historian of Mysore, speaks of Lakshammanni in 1808 as "a sensible and amiable old lady, whose observations on the incidents of her eventful life are highly interesting and intelligent" She must have lived nearly eighty years, and to the very last she was in the full possession of her faculties Her remarkable mental endowments were in keeping with the extraordinary courage of her heart Even when she was in a condition of poverty and distress, insulted by her own servants and deserted by her own people, she still cherished the hope of reviving the lost glories of the Mysore Family, and at the imminent risk of her own life, she worked at the accomplishment of her object with a determination of mind and faith in God which deserve our highest admiration. To her servants she was a loving and grateful mistress. At a time when the French arms still successfully coped with those of the English, she had the sagacity to perceive that an alliance with the English alone would securely seat her descendants on the throne of Mysore. Lakshammanni's was a righteous cause, and God gave her success.

48. Rani Lakshmi Ammanni.

Another account.

DURING the troublous days of the eighteenth century when Mysore passed under the rule of Haidar Ali and his son Tippu, there lived in the seclusion of the palace a lady of uncommon intelligence, whose sagacity and bravery eventually led

to the restoration of the Mysore kingdom to its rightful owners Her life story illustrates how one who has made a habit of self-control, discipline and unselfishness in the petty affairs of everyday life is capable, if the occasion arises, of the highest heroism

Rani Lakshmi Ammanni, for that was her name, was the daughter of Katti Gopala Raj Urs, at one time the Kille-dar of Trichinopoly The exact date of her birth is not known. But as she is supposed to have died in her eightieth year in 1815, it may be presumed that she was born somewhere about the year 1735 In 1756, she became the wife of Sri Krishnaraja Wodevar II, the then king of Mysore

At that time, Southern India was in a confused state. The old Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar had been broken down for a century, the Muhammadans had secured a permanent foothold for themselves at Hyderabad and Arcot; the Naiks of Madura and Trichinopoly had ceased to exist; Tanjore had passed into the hands of Maratta invaders, the French and the English and the Dutch and the Danes had from small commercial beginnings begun to rise to political power In Mysore itself, the kingdom which had been built up by Raja Wodeyar, Kantirava and Chikka Devaraja Wodeyars was being slowly usurped by the ministers. One of these was Haidar Ali who, from humble origin, had become Sarvadhikari of Mysore under Krishnaraja Wodeyar II.

Neither the people of Mysore nor those who were closely related to the reigning Raja looked with favour on this

silent revolution. They made repeated attempts to overthrow the usurper. But Haidar Ali was not only a minister of the king, but was a born-soldier and knew how to win over people to his side. On one occasion when he was nearly on the brink of ruin, he retrieved his fortunes by a stratagem which well illustrates his character.

The mother of the reigning king, Krishna Raja II, seeing the grasping and treacherous attitude of Haidar, determined to displace him at the first opportunity. She spoke to Khande Rao, the Dewan, of her plans. Khande Rao was not only a civil officer but had also been trained to the profession of arms. Personally too he did not favour the too frequent assignments of revenue that Haidar had obtained on one pretext or another from the Raja. Nor did he approve of the general usurping attitude of Haidar. He therefore agreed that Haidar should be removed from his post and made to retire from Mysore. Khande Rao, choosing a good moment when Haidar's troops were away from the capital and Haidar himself was encamped under the guns of the fort, opened fire on Haidar. Haidar surprised, at this unexpected salutation, wondered what it was all about. When he heard that Khande Rao was distinctly perceived on the works, directing the fire of the artillery, he prepared to leave the place in good time. After due preparations he appeared again near Nanjangud, but Khande Rao with his superior military advantages defeated him in battle. Haidar repulsed once again, retired to Konanur, where resided Nanjaraj who, until a short while ago, had been at

the head of affairs. He was won over easily by Haidar, who now augmented by Nanjaraja's troops, reappeared before Khande Rao's forces. Khande Rao, however, proved himself more than Haidar's military equal. Haidar's destruction seemed now inevitable. But what military talent could not achieve, intrigue and deception were destined to secure for him. Haidar reduced to the last extremity, caused letters to be sent to Khande Rao's leading men in the name of Nanjaraj and with Nanjaraja's *seal* on them, that as agreed upon previously they were to seize Khande Rao and deliver him to Nanjaraj and that Nanjaraj on his part, was ready to perform the conditions of the stipulated reward and that nothing remained for them but to act according to their promise and earn the reward. The men carrying these letters fell, according to design, into the outposts of Khande Rao's forces, who forthwith took them to Khande Rao. Khande Rao, little suspecting the artifice, conceived that he had been betrayed by his own troops, and seized with a sudden panic, instantly mounted his horse and escaped at full speed to Seringapatam without any previous communication with the suspected chiefs. The flight of the commander-in-chief caused confusion in Khande Rao's army and it fell an easy prey to Haidar who next proceeded to Seringapatam and presented an ultimatum to the Raja. The Raja had perforce to yield. Khande Rao was put to a cruel death and Haidar's usurpation became an accomplished fact.

Not long after both Krishnaraja Wodeyar and his mother

died, Krishnaraja left two sons, Nanjaraja and Chamaraja. Haidar put to death both these, and Lakshmi Ammanni, the widow of Krishnaraja Wodeyar II, was kept closely confined to the palace. The loss of her husband, her sons, and of willing servants, who could loyally champion her cause, filled her with sorrow, but it did not shake her faith in God Almighty. Though hitherto unaccustomed to politics, she determined not to yield to Haidar or to his savage threats of putting an ignominious end to her life. She solemnly resolved, on the other hand, to win back the lost kingdom to her royal house. From now her every single act was devoted to this end.

Knowing the nature of Haidar, Lakshmi Ammanni acted with considerable skill and tact. On the death of the two princes Nanjaraj and Chamaraj she made known her wishes in the matter of the adoption of a suitable boy to keep up the royal succession. Haidar, fully realizing the character of the lady he was dealing with, at first pretended not to understand her, but being pressed again and again in the matter, he could not summon enough courage to reply in a direct negative to her demand. At the same time he was not in favour of either of the boys whom the Rani had chosen for adoption. He compelled her to adopt a boy of his own selection. The Rani, who had no personal interest, was not against this boy; for her sole desire was that a suitable boy should be adopted and he must be installed on the ancient throne of her lord. The boy who thus succeeded became known to history as Chamaraja Wodeyar IX.

He was only a child of three years and so Haidar found it convenient to perpetuate his own usurpation

Lakshmi Ammanni however, was not unaware of Haidar's design. He tried to create ill-feeling between her and the young Raja and on the pretext that she was ill-disposed towards him, he separated her from him and closely confined her in a separate place. The Rani, though sorely tried kept her mind fixed on the only object for which she lived, to win back the kingdom from the usurper. The times were not however propitious. Haidar was successful everywhere, he had won over most of the adherents of the reigning family, and he had infused fear into all by the cruel punishments he had inflicted on those whom he suspected of treachery towards him. Local help thus failing, the Rani thought of interesting some neighbouring and friendly power in her behalf. Though closely confined in her own palace and watched by her enemy's nominees, she secretly contrived to open negotiations with the English at Madras. Their Governor at the time was Lord Pigott, a man both of some statesmanship and vigour. To him, the Rani sent, one of her adherents, a person of the name of Tirumala Rao

In those days the journey from Mysore to Madras — 300 miles or so — was a much more arduous affair than what it is now. He travelled disguised, literally carrying his life in his hand. Haidar's emissaries were everywhere after him. But he successfully evaded them all by the disguises he wore. He is said to have carried letters

secreted in the nether part of his shoes to avoid suspicion. At first beyond securing the goodwill of the English the mission did not prove successful. Lord Pigott also died not long after. This temporary checkmate to her plans did not to any extent discourage Lakshmi Ammanni. She waited for a more suitable opportunity. Haider gave her one before long. His zeal for conquest soon brought him into conflict with the English. As a result of certain misunderstanding with them he incurred their displeasure, war ensued and he invaded the Carnatic. Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, soon made up his mind against him. He utilized the proffered aid of Lakshmi Ammanni. An understanding was soon come to by which the English at Madras agreed in return for certain territorial concessions to help her against Haider. According to the secret compact the English army was to march *via* Coimbatore by the Gujjalhatti pass and to invade Seringapatam, the local troops simultaneously being arranged to rise against Haider. Shanaiya, minister of the Intelligence Department, was in charge of this arrangement. But as the fates would have it, the arrangement miscarried at the last moment by a retainer of Haider who disclosed the whole matter to his master. Haider's rage knew no bounds. He caught hold of the principal malcontents and put them to death. Others were sent to prison, there to languish in misery.

Meanwhile, Haider died and was succeeded by Tippu Sultan. Lakshmi Ammanni undaunted by the recent disclosures and events that followed them, kept up her commu-

nication with the English at Madras. General Meadows, the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of Madras, was, if not exactly enthusiastic in her cause, at least found it advantageous to his government to help her to win back her kingdom. Though he despaired of success against Tippu, he still endeavoured his best to do what he could to advance her interests. But the best he could do proved little. The first siege of Seringapatam ended in nothing beneficial to her. Lord Cornwallis's labours were lost, so far as her main endeavours were concerned. But Lakshmi Ammanni who believed in the eventual triumph of justice did not lose heart. In the circumstances in which she found herself, any one else would have despaired of life. But she never set such value on it as to make it come in the way of achieving her great object. Her letters show how near to her heart this object lay. Tippu's high-handedness only made her the more persevere in her secret negotiations. Her letter animadverting on Tippu's turning her away from the old palace, his search of her person, his wresting away from her body all the jewels, his forcible conversion to the Moslem faith of some of her devoted maids of honour and his immuring her in a part of an old dilapidated dwelling-house, his doing away with the reigning king Chamaraja Wodeyar and other equally dishonourable deeds have come down to us. Lakshmi Ammanni's whole attitude at the time shows not only the physical bravery that she displayed on critical occasions but also the moral courage she brought to bear on her life's work. To her the most important thing was to put down Tippu and win back the kingdom. The

loss of everything personal—goods, jewels, and even the lives of those, dear and near to her, among servants, friends, and relations,—did not matter. Even physical suffering inflicted on her was as nothing in the balance. In every letter she wrote, she expatiated on four things —

- (1) The need for the English putting down Tippu *in their own interests* ,
- (2) the need for their utilizing her professed aid in this endeavour and the help of the people of Mysore who were ready to welcome their deliverers, the moment they entered the country ,
- (3) the cruel sufferings the people and the country of Mysore were undergoing and the urgency of relief ;
and
- (4) the need for restoring the country to the ancient Royal line which would ever be loyal to the British cause.

Her patience was at last rewarded, as we shall see presently.

The war known to history as the Fourth Mysore War next followed. Tippu's ambition and inveterate hatred of the English led him to conflict with them. They had at their head, at the time we are speaking, a man of great energy. This was the famous Marquis Wellesley who took part in that war. The British, the Marattas and the Nizam formed an alliance and soon advanced against Seringapatam. The capital was taken and Tippu was found among the slain. This event occurred on the 4th May, 1799.

The English restored in grateful recognition of the work of Lakshmi Ammanni, the ancient Royal line. As desired by her, king Krishnaraja Wodeyar, the infant son of the king Chamaraja Wodeyar, was placed on the throne and installed. Lakshmi Ammanni's object was gained and she (with the widow of the late king Chamaraja Wodeyar) sent the following letter to the Governor-General of India —

‘ Your having conferred on our child the Government of Mysore Nagar and their dependencies, and appointed Purniah to be the Dewan, has afforded the greatest happiness. Forty years have elapsed since our Government ceased. Now you have favoured our boy with the Government of this country and nominated Purniah to be his Dewan. We shall, while the Sun and Moon continue, commit no offence against your Government. We shall at all times consider ourselves as under your protection and orders. Your having established us must for ever be fresh in the memory of our posterity, from one generation to another. Our offspring can never forget an attachment to your Government on whose support we shall depend ’

Lakshmi Ammanni lived for sixteen years after the restoration. She saw the royal lad Krishnaraja grow to man's estate. She was deeply religious and pious and, in the new conditions she found herself, she had ample opportunities to prepare herself for the journey beyond. She had seen many a reverse in life, she had had friends, supporters and relations wrested away from her; and she had outlived

her sovereign lord Chikka Krishnaraj for nearly half a century. Yet there was not found in her the least trace of bitterness or the least desire for the pleasures of the world. The change which the wheel of fortune had wrought in her life did not affect her in the least. She was as ever before, the simple, honest and God-fearing soul, bent on good for her people and country. A pleasing picture of her is given to us in a few words by Colonel Wilkes, well-known as the historian of Mysore, who had come into frequent contact as resident. He describes her as a "sensible and amiable old lady, whose observations on the incidents of her eventful life are highly interesting and intelligent."

Lakshmi Ammanni died in 1815, in the eightieth year of her age. Death had no pangs for her; for she had lived a life of usefulness to her country and people. Even now her memory is deeply cherished in the State. The loving appellation of mother Lakshmi Ammanni shows how tenderly she loved the people and how gratefully they reciprocated her love for them. A country that can produce so true a heroine cannot but be a blessed one.

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49. Bhistopanth Badami.

AMONG the heroes of Mysore of the 18th century Bhistopanth Badami takes a prominent place. The name is a localized form of the Sanskrit Vishnu Pandit. He came from an ancient Desastha Brahman family which, so far as information is now procurable, bore arms and held important military commands in the days of the Adil Shahi and Nizam

Shahī Dynasties in the Deccan, and became known as “Dandina Manetana” meaning military family

The family subsequently settled in Lakshmuswar. One of its members known to history was Dandina Rama Rao. He and his son Lingopanth held the command of the army of Ankusakhan, one of the Nawabs of that place, rendering loyal services for which they were rewarded with two Inam villages. Bhistopanth was the second son of Lingopanth. He was in service under the famous Maratta minister Nana Farnavis in Poona. When Nana's elder brother was assassinated at the instigation of the Rani of Sirahatti, Bhistopanth marched against her, defeated and deposed her. Her principality was then annexed to the Poona Government and Bhistopanth was made Sar Subha of the famous hill fort of Badami by the Peshwa. He then became known as Bhistopanth Badami.

*In one of his expeditions northward, Haidar Ali besieged and captured Badami and appreciating the high military qualities displayed by Bhistopanth, left him in charge of that fort in his behalf. Subsequently Haidar invited him to Seringapatam and made him Bakshi, Commandant of his cavalry. In this capacity Bhistopanth greatly distinguished himself rendering most valuable services to Haidar and his son Tippu Sultan in their wars, especially in the sieges of Arcot, Vellore, Tanjore and

* The incident narrated in Para (3) is recorded in the manuscript now in the possession of Mr. Karanik Nallappa, Tumkur, whose ancestors were high in favour of Haidar and Tippu. I am highly indebted to Mr. Nallappa for showing his old manuscripts to me.

Madras It is said he "was always their trusted servant and respected counsellor" It is much to be regretted that no details are now available of the life of this great hero during the periods in which he served under Haider and Tippu At the conclusion of the disastrous war of Tippu with the British in 1791-92, he suspected many of treason, and mercilessly sent them to confinement in the house of one Raghavendra Nāik in Seringapatam Among those committed to this dark fate was Bhistopanth to whom Tippu and his father were both in no small degree indebted for their military achievements on several occasions About 10 or 20 of these ill-fated persons used to be beheaded night after night One night a note delivered in the prison contained the name of Bhistopanth, and he was called out into a separate room as was usual in the case of those doomed to lose their lives. He who, sword in hand, was the terror of the enemy, was now powerless. Calumny had disarmed him and condemned him to unmerited confinement. He, the lion of the battle-field, was now a helpless lamb in the prison. His however was not the spirit to bow to the hand of the assassin; his self-respect was as great as his sword and lance were effective; he preferred suicide to the hard stroke of the murderer, he at once stabbed himself in the region of the stomach with a knife which he had kept concealed in his pillow. This occurrence was at once reported to Tippu: it evoked his remorse; and he made amends by immediately ordering Bhistopanth to be treated and carefully nursed. On his recovery, the Sultan restored the hero with all due honours to the post of Sowar Bakshi.

In the siege of Seringapatam in 1799 Bhistopanth had orders to remain concealed near Karighatta to intercept the advance of the British army which was reported to cross the Cauvery at that place. In this expectation Tippu was disappointed. The British force crossed the river elsewhere and their attack was directed against the north-western angle of the fort. After the fall of Seringapatam, Bhistopanth, in his discretion, was the first to surrender with his army to General Harris and he it was who negotiated the surrender of Purniah. The following extract from a despatch of General Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) bears testimony to Bhistopanth's loyalty and his military capacity.—“Upon every occasion in which the British troops in Mysore have been employed, he has acted with them in command of a body of the Raja's troops, and he has always conducted himself in such a manner as to gain my applause and repeated recommendations to the Government of Mysore, and the esteem of every officer of the British army. In this last campaign, in particular, in which his situation was naturally very delicate, his discretion in refraining from all communications or connection with the Maratta chiefs who have frequently applied to him to exert influence he was supposed to have, to carry their sinister objects, has been equally satisfactory to me with his military conduct.”

As a reward for Bhistopanth's valuable services, a pension of Rs 12,000 a year was conferred on him by the British Government. This he enjoyed in addition to the liberal emoluments bestowed on him by the Government

of Mysore till his death in 1808. A born warrior, wise and cool headed, possessing self-control and self-respect, Bhisho-panth was a remarkable character of his age.

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50. Barki Venkata Rao and Barki Srinivasa Rao.

The Barki family.—Barki Venkata Rao was a distinguished military Commander of Mysore who played a prominent part in the struggle that ensued when the Mysore army went to the support of Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot, as desired by him against his rival Chanda Saheb. The term “Barki” is variously derived. One interpretation of it is that the members of this family were so hardy as to live at times on raw rice, the Kannada term for this being Bari-Akki, contracted to Barki.

Barki Venkata Rao first comes to notice in Mysore History in the fifth decade of the 18th century. After Nizam-ul-Mulk took Trichinopoly and its dependencies from Murari Rao in August 1744 and before Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Arcot went there in April 1745, the fort of Dindigul was surprised by one Rama Naik described by Col. Wilkes as the insignificant Palayagar of Uttampalyam. Barki Venkata Rao was sent there with a respectable force by the Maharaja of Mysore. He reduced the fort and added it on with the District to which it belonged to the Mysore territories.

The next occasion when he is spoken of is when he was deputed to help Nazir Jung in 1749 in the latter's

expedition against the Carnatic Venkata Rao then went in command of the Mysore forces consisting of 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot, Haidar and his brother Salibaz Khan being among the officers who served under him at the time. When Nazir Jung had encamped at Maddagiri, Venkata Rao met him there with his contingent and moved thence with him by way of Hoskote down the ghats against Arcot. Col. Wilkes,* the historian of Mysore, in recounting the armies that gathered then in the cause of Nazir Jung, speaks of Barki Venkata Rao of Mysore as "one of the best officers of that State" and in referring to the engagements fought in this expedition, he adds with respect to the doings of the Mysore army that "among the troops who remained faithful to Nazir Jung were those of Mysore." Barki Venkata Rao shewed much valour, and on one occasion, although the Mahut of his elephant was killed by a cannon shot, Venkata Rao, without losing his presence of mind, soon had recourse to other resources and proved himself as active as ever in the field. Ultimately Muzfur Jung surrendered, but when Nazir Jung lost his life on account of treachery on the part of the Afghan Nawab of Cuddapah, Barki Venkata Rao brought back his troops safely to Mysore, Haidar bringing with him several camel-loads of treasure.

In 1751 A.D., Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, who was closely besieged in Trichinopoly by his rival Chanda Sahib, sent his Vakil Seshagiri Pandit to seek aid from the Maharaja of Mysore promising, among other conditions, to

* Wilkes, Vol. I, old edition, pp. 349-50.

cede Trichinopoly and the country belonging to it as the stipulated price of his successful assistance. In compliance, Sarvadhikari Karachuri Nanjaraj led the Mysore army consisting of 10,000 * horse and 50,000 foot accompanied by Barki Venkata Rao, and reached Trichinopoly eluding the detachments despatched by Chanda Saheb to intercept this force. Associated with an English Officer on behalf of Muhammad Ali, Venkata Rao did eminent services with his detachment of Mysore force in safeguarding supplies to the army. When ultimately Mubammad Ali succeeded in defeating Chanda Saheb, but failed to concede the fort of Trichinopoly to Mysore, Barki Venkata Rao was sent to Madras to obtain the support of the English in carrying out the stipulation. He returned to Mysore with Sarvadhikari Nanjaraj about 1756. By this time, he was somewhat advanced in age and seems to have taken no further active part in the affairs of this country. He left two sons, the eldest Srinivasa Rao and the next Chandra Rao. Both were capable military officers, more particularly the former.

Barki Srinivasa Rao.—It is in the year 1758 A.D. that Barki Srinivasa Rao first comes to notice in the military history of Mysore. The town of Hoskote near Bangalore was then a Maratta outpost. Its Thanédar, Mukunda Rao by name, began predatory incursions to Bangalore. This news reaching Seringapatam, Barki Srinivasa Rao was sent against him. Srinivasa Rao succeeded in surprising Mukunda

* I here follow the manuscript of Haidar's life recently procured by me in Tumkur. According to Col. Wilkes the numbers were 5,000 horse and 10,000 infantry.

Rao on his way to Bangalore one morning and putting him to rout pursued him with slaughter to Hoskote when the Maratta General Gopala Hari of Miraj came with a large army 40,000 strong and laid siege to Bangalore. Srinivasa Rao ably defended the city, fighting most gallantly against the enemy, limited though his resources were at the time. The Marattas being further reinforced, extended their operations and took possession of Channapatna and Maddur. Srinivasa Rao's supplies were thereby cut off and he sent urgent representations to the Maharaja and his minister for immediate help, resolving at the same time not to surrender Bangalore, happen what might. These despatches were enclosed in covers with small sticks tied to them, indicating the symbol of urgency in vogue of those times.

Srinivasa Rao's father Barki Venkata Rao also took active measures to procure succour for his son, encompassed as he was with great danger, and ultimately Haidar who was despatched to give relief to Srinivasa Rao, succeeded in capturing Maddur and Channapatna and compelled the Marattas to raise the siege of Bangalore. Srinivasa Rao from inside the fort actively co-operated in this measure.

In 1759 when Karachuri Nanjaraj was forced to settle at Konanur, Barki Venkata Rao and his sons Srinivasa Rao and Chandra Rao went and stayed with him there for sometime. When Haidar occupied Seringapatam in 1761, Barki Srinivasa Rao, in view to give up Mysore and seek employment in Poona, went and encamped at Karighatta with 500 horse. Haidar alarmed at this and entirely unwilling to

lose the services of so brave a military officer, made overtures to him through his father Barki Venkata Rao and succeeded in retaining him in Mysore on strict promise of treating him with all regard and consideration due to his own ancestry and to his personal capacity and achievements.

Subsequently Srinivasa Rao played a creditable part in the first Mysore war against the British, which lasted from 1767 to 1769. In 1769 a Maratta Sirdar by name Mahimaji Sindhia made an incursion into the Mysore territory and was aided by a number of petty Palayagars. Barki Srinivasa Rao proceeded against him with a large force, and in the fight that ensued so utterly defeated the enemy's army that Mahimaji Sindhia fled precipitately to Poona.

Soon afterwards the Marattas invaded Mysore; and Haidar had then to strain every nerve to defend himself. The fight near Chinkurli proved disastrous, conducting the retreat of the Mysore army, Srinivasa Rao and his brother Chandra Rao reached Seringapatam in good order. During the Siege of Seringapatam that followed, Haidar deputed Tippu Sultan and Barki Srinivasa Rao with 3,000 irregular horse and 5 battalions of infantry towards Bednur to cut off the supplies of the enemy, coming from Poona. Tippu Sultan was, on this occasion, according to Col. Wilkes, attached to the detachment of Barki Srinivasa Rao for service. This detachment surprised the Maratta convoys near Sakrepatna, and took possession of all the supplies that were brought.

In 1773 when the Nairs and Moplas in Malabar revolted, Haidar first sent against them Harkere Rangappa Naik and

Ramagiri Chamarajiah who however were killed. Next, Barki Srinivasa Rao was then deputed with a detachment; he was able to subdue them and force them to accept his own terms. Haidar in reward made him Fauzdar or military Governor of that Province. Alluding to this circumstance Wilkes says that Haidar appointed to the Government there "Srinivasa Rao Barki, one of his oldest officers in whose talents and attachment he placed the most implicit reliance "

On a former occasion in 1763-64, when the Peshwa Madhava Rao took the field against Haidar to check his growing aggressions northward, Haidar suffered much loss in a pitched battle in which his Dewan by name Venkata Rao and some other able Sirdars lost their lives. In the gloom of this defeat, Barki Srinivasa Rao learnt that his old father Barki Venkata Rao was among those captured by the Marhattas Srinivasa Rao at this news forgot his own grief and immediately summoning the bravest of his troops, fought fiercely with the enemy and succeeded in rescuing his old father. His younger brother Chandra Rao also shared in his toils in this adventure.

In the course of the events that followed Haidar's conquest of Chitaldrug, he marched on Cuddapah where the Nawab Halimkhan was then engaged in fighting against Mir Ali Raza Khan of Gurramkonda. On this occasion Barki Srinivasa Rao, by a daring adventure, captured the fort of Siddavata and brought the Nawab a captive. Next, Barki Srinivasa Rao marched against Kangundi with his force under the direction of Haidar, took possession of it

and established the authority of Mysore there. This was the last of his military exploits and he passed away in the year 1780

51. Gudagatti.

DURING the siege of Chitaldrug by Haidar Ali's army in 1777-78 there were several wonderful exploits by individual heroes, and one such we shall try to describe here

The besiegers, in spite of their overwhelming numbers, were boldly resisted and cut to pieces everywhere. The enemies were frustrated in all their endeavours. Haidar Ali was ever active in sending help to several of the invading parties who had hopes of success. The attacking party appeared to be overpowered by the Palayagar's troops at the line of fortifications on the hill called Budhivantana Maradi. Then a Mussalman Sirdar was seen sitting in a palanquin, taking a body of men for succour to the invaders on that side. The Sirdar, being an officer of some consequence, had been allowed an umbrella and other insignia peculiar to his rank. The Palayagar's men however mistook him for the Nawab, Haidar Ali himself. Parasuramappa Naik, the Palayagar's brother, riding up and down on the ramparts, observed from the top of Rangaiya gate the detachment advancing towards Budhivanta hill, and looking around tauntingly cried out, "Look there, my brethren, Nawab Haidar Ali is going; is there a true soldier among us who can bring me the Nawab's head"? Then a sepoy by name Gudagatti who was on escort duty on

his staff came forward and bowing, said "Budhi, if you give me your sword, and Bhavani, your favourite horse, I shall go and bring you the head of the Nawab in the palanquin" Then Parasuramappa Naik was very glad that there was such a daring soldier in his army and at once granted his request. Gudagatti immediately mounted the horse and with the sword in hand went in full gallop towards the Mussalman General's palanquin, cut his head off with one stroke and galloped back. The enemies were surprised and panic-stricken, some thought that Gudagatti was one of their own sowars and others were overpowered by the suddenness of the occurrence. But when the daring hero was galloping back with the Sirdar's head, some began to fire at him, others to throw their javelins and other missiles at him and nearly the whole detachment began to pursue him. But at the fierce fire of guns and shower of arrows from the ramparts to save the daring hero's life, the enemy fell back. Gudagatti went and bowed to the Naik and presented the Sirdar's head. Then they discovered that it was not Haidar Ali. All the same the indomitable hero's daring act elicited the admiration of both the contending parties and Parasuramappa Naik suitably rewarded him with rich presents for his services.

52. Hiri Medakeri Naik as a hero in battles.

ALL the Palayagars of Chitradurg were powerful and valourous. There was not a single reign free from terrible wars. There was not a single war in which the reigning chief did

not distinguish himself most gloriously And Hiri Medakeri Naik was one of such powerful potentates

The chiefs of the surrounding countries were very envious of the successful careers of the Chitradurg Palayagars and frequently tried to crush them. At one time there was great disturbance at Anaji, and Medakeri Naik himself went there with a large army to quell the insurrection. While the Chitradurg army was thus otherwise engaged, the combined armies of the chiefs of Nagar, Savanur, Harapanahalli and Raidurg who were waiting for an opportunity, laid siege to the fort of Mayikonda which was a portion of the Durg territories. Medakeri Naik would never excuse such wanton acts of encroachment: he at once marched from Anaji to Mayikonda and engaged the enemies so completely that they were rendered helpless by the confusion that ensued in their own camp. Elated by this temporary success, the Chitradurg army became demoralized and began to loot the hostile camp. The enemies set their cavalry in motion and began their work of carnage. Rather anxious that his infantry was thus subjected to a terrible onslaught, the Naik of Chitradurg had heavy weight attached to his elephant's leg to prevent it from running away and engaged himself in a fierce fight with the hostile army. The enemy unable to fight like heroes, had the dastardly satisfaction of surrounding the royal tusker and wreaking their vengeance by cutting its limbs to pieces and killing it.

The Palayagar immediately sent for another elephant for his howdah and said to the Mahut Sanka .

Medakeri Naik.—“Sanka, you take our animal in front of Harapanahalli Naik’s howdah ”

Mahut.—“My lord, our ranks have become hopelessly broken , the enemies are cutting our men to pieces and are surrounding us The rear side of our fort is near at hand. If permitted I shall turn the elephant into the fort ”

Naik - “Sanka, put a stop to such talk In all battle-fields, we have not till now shown our back to the enemies , God has vouchsafed such honour to me. How long must I live by running away ? There has been inveterate hatred between us and the Harapanahalli Naik While attempting to wreak our vengeance one against the other, many innocent lives will be lost. If instead of settling our disputes by some easier means, we allow our men to fight, we shall be sacrificing so much of man power This is neither righteousness nor heroism. When we show our true valour, neither can conquer the other. If the one dies he will go to the heaven of heroes ; he becomes thus victorious. The other obtains the country ; he becomes thus victorious also. As a reward for my devotion to the Lord of the Universe, I shall have nothing beyond the salvation of marching to heaven. Real heroes are destined to enjoy eternal bliss If the enemies are satisfied, I do require nothing more. Now do not delay any longer, drive the elephant. If you are afraid, you dismount and go, I shall myself drive the elephant and engage the enemy in battle, but shall never turn back.”

Mahut.—“Maharaja, Chatrapathi, when Your Highness leaves this world, how can I show my face to others ? My life shall be at your feet ”

So saying the Mahut took the elephant opposite Somasekhara Naik's howdah. That Palayagar, deserving the approach of Medakeri Naik from a distance, turned his animal to oppose the elephant of Chitradurg. It was as though one hill was opposing the other. A hand to hand personal fight between the two Rajas in the howdahs ensued. First each one's skill in archery and then dexterity in shooting were displayed by them to a marvellous extent. Then the mutual contest waxed hotter. Somasekhara Naik, with his legs on the head of the elephant in a leaning posture, pierced Medakeri Naik with a lance fresh from the arsenal. Then the lord of Chitradurg, standing on the head of his elephant in a leaning posture, caught hold of his opponent's lance at the sharp end ; then there was a tug of war, each one was pulling it in opposite directions. Though the tension was as great as the wound inflicted, the hero of Chitradurg would not let go the weapon, but forcibly pulled it off from the club. In this hot contest the Mahuts of both the opposing elephants fell down dead. Somasekhara Naik fell helpless. Medakeri Naik, though mortally wounded, had the glory of defeating the foe.

53. Vobavva of Chitradurg.

CHITRADURG was one of the impregnable fortresses in Southern India. Its strong and thick walls and ramparts, its

square bastions and batteries are standing monuments of the engineering art of the people in those olden times. The horn-blower's battery was one of them. In the reigns of the old Palayagars, the king's horn-blower was the sentinel to stand at that height and give the alarm during war times, and whenever he descried anything noteworthy or suspicious or when the Palayagar marched out of the fort.

In the year 1777--78 A C Nawab Haidar Ali laid siege to this fort with a large army. The Palayagar's men defended the place as bravely and fought as fiercely as the troops of Seringapatam. The besiegers were everywhere cut to pieces. The Nawab finding all his attempts fruitless became pensive. He was devising plans to take the place by some means or other. His men went out in disguise to watch the movements of people. One morning a certain woman was observed carrying a potful of curds uphill. Haidar's spies quietly followed her in disguise and discovering a secret passage, through which she entered the fort, reported it to the Nawab. Then a strong detachment invested the fort on that side which afterwards became famous as "the Pestle Gate" (ವನಕೆಕಂಡಿ ಬಾಗಿಲು) under the circumstances to be detailed further on.

While the Palayagar's men were ever active in cutting the besiegers to pieces in every direction, Haidar's troops were engaged some in trying to find out secret passes and others scaling the walls and so on. It was midday. About this time transpired one of the most noteworthy incidents in history.

The horn-blower came to his hut on a slope of the hill. His wife Obavva gave him water to wash and served him with food. The husband who was thus engaged in eating, was necessarily left at home to watch the house and the wife went out with a pot in hand to fetch water. The well happened to be at a short distance from the Pestle Gate. Just as she approached her destination, some noise and bustle was audible outside the secret passage. She left the pot near the reservoir, went home and returned with a pestle in her hand. By that time she had reasons to apprehend immediate danger from the besiegers. She went into the gorge. It was all dark inside. rock above, rock below, rock on the right and rock on the left. There was a small aperture in the middle just enough for a thin man to crawl through. She carefully studied the situation and found a dingy space on one side of the hole. She took her stand there just as a spider does at one end of the cob-web ready to encompass any prey that gets entangled in it. One man from outside crept in. She waited till the entire body was inside. Then raising the pestle she gave one blow and despatched him. A short while after another body crept in and met with the same fate, then a third man crawled in, then a fourth and so on, the result was the same. Then another and another slipped themselves in to receive the deadly blows. Thus the process of man in and head off continued for some hours. The heroine lost control over herself and the process of raising the pestle and killing became a mechanical act.

The husband suspecting great danger to his wife, came

near the well where he found the water pot and proceeding further towards the secret passage, he saw a horrible sight. The whole place was a pool of blood, her cloth dripping in blood, and her body from head to foot bathed in blood. The heap of the dead bodies was approaching the height of the adjoining hillocks. When he found his wife in that veritably horrid condition of a Mahakali, addressed her saying "What is this great carnage ?" Vobu mistaking her husband for an enemy, raised her pestle to give him a blow. But the horn-blower though mortally afraid of the infuriated condition of his wife, summoned up courage and said, "Are you going to kill me ? Am I not your husband ?" Then Obavva came to her senses, and gasping for breath, narrated the whole circumstances. Her husband blew his horn immediately, and the Palayagar with his retinue came to the spot, after hearing the whole story, the Palayagar lauding the act to the skies as a case of unique heroism in the history of the world, offered her rich presents which Obavva humbly refused saying, "My Lord, these implacable enemies are depriving us of our country and our homes and I, through God's grace and through the strength of the salt we have eaten of Your Highness, was able to prevent them from entering the fort clandestinely. For this slight service I do not deserve presents more than what Your Highness has already conferred on us."

Even the enemies admired her heroism and unselfishness. This heroine's figure is chiselled on a stone of the fort wall at one of the gates and the image is to this day worshipped by some people of the surrounding villages.

54. Dodda Vasantha Naik.

DODDA VASANTHA NAIK, the seventh Palayagar of Gummanayakanapalya, was a wise ruler and a warlike prince. One day he received a communication from the Emperor, Krishnaraya, that the chief of Kalburgi had risen in rebellion against Vijayanagar, that he was taking villages and devastating the country, and that the Naik should at once proceed with his force to the scene of action. Accordingly this faithful vassal started with an army of ten thousand men and other auxiliaries and reached Vijayanagar. A large force marched against Kalburgi. Any amount of fighting and any number of heroic deeds proved futile and ended in vain sacrifice of thousands of lives. Then the Emperor called a council of war of which Dodda Vasantha Naik and Pemmasani Thimma Naik formed the prominent figures.

Then the chief of Gummanayakanapalya represented as follows :—

“The imperial troops have till now fought most gallantly and have become naturally quite exhausted. If to-morrow’s fighting may be entirely left to me and Pemmasani Thimma Naik, we shall show our valour. We shall try our best to come out victorious with the help of our own troops unaided by any other army.”

Then the emperor fully appreciated the gallant spirit of the Palayagar and showing him great honour by rich presents, gave him formal leave to carry out his own plans. The following day the combined armies of both the chieftains were locked in a deadly struggle with the enemy. Both the

Palayagars invested the fort on either side, and breaking the fort walls rushed into the citadel. The battle was extremely sanguinary and more than sixteen thousand men died on the spot. Many more were wounded. But Dodda Vasantha Naik's enterprise was more than a match for the enemy whose courageous onslaught made complete victory a hopeless task. However the enemy fled in disorder. Their chief, despairing of success, with a drawn sword in hand, singly rode fast to the hostile camp, approached Dodda Vasantha Naik and addressed him thus

“There is nothing very great in taking me a prisoner who have lost all my army and have no means of obtaining any succour or success. It will be no heroism on your part. If you are a true prince and a born soldier, leave your men behind and stand before me for a single combat. We shall test our personal prowess on this arena. If either dies at the hands of the other, there is Veera Swarga to welcome him”.

Thereon both the chiefs consented and with their drawn swords stood up for a single combat. They began to fight with their swords. Each was an adept in the art of sword-fencing; ultimately Kalburgi chief's hand became weaker, and by a lucky stroke from Dodda Vasantha Naik his opponent's sword was broken. Then the combatants began to wrestle by a hand to hand fight. This lasted for half an hour; when the Kalburgi's chieftain became exhausted and unable to withstand the powerful blows of his rival, he fell down with blood gushing out from his mouth, and

nostrils and expired in a short time. Thus Vasantha Naik became the victor, hoisted the Vijayanagar flag on the ramparts and took possession of the place. On approaching the emperor who was outside the fort, the Palayagar reported the details of the fight and the ultimate victory. Quite elated with success Krishnadevaraya embraced Dodda Vasantha Naik with joy and showed him every mark of respect and distinction.

55 Indian heroism in the recent German War.

BEFORE the German war, the foreign campaigns in which the Indian army had been employed extended from Egypt and Ashanti on the West to China on the East and embraced most of the intervening countries. Once when war was imminent with Russia, Lord Beaconsfield had ordered Indian troops to Malta, but these had no opportunity of being engaged in any actual warfare against the Europeans in their own continent. In 1914 the position in France was critical, for the French and the English were outnumbered by the Germans and outgunned. There was no prospect for several days of the English receiving any substantial reinforcements, while it was known that the enemy was bringing up large bodies of troops. Field-Marshal Lord French himself acknowledged that the Indian Expeditionary Force arrived in the nick of time and that it helped to save the cause both of the Allies and of Civilization.

The conditions under which the Indian troops served in France were entirely novel to them. "They came" says

Lord Curzon, "to a country where the climate, the language, the people, the customs, were entirely different, from any of which they had knowledge. They were presently faced with the sharp severity of a Northern winter. They who had never suffered heavy shell-fire, who had no experience of high explosive, who had never seen war-fare in the air, who were totally ignorant of modern trench fighting, were exposed to all the latest and most scientific developments of the art of destruction. They were confronted with the most powerful and pitiless military machine that the world has ever seen. They were consoled by none of the amenities or alleviations, or even the associations, of home. They were not fighting for their own country, or people. They were not even engaged in a quarrel of their own making. They were plunged in surroundings which must have been intensely depressing to the spirit of man. Almost from the start they suffered shattering losses. In the face of these trials and difficulties, the cheerfulness, the loyalty, the good discipline, the intrepid courage of these denizens of another clime, cannot be too highly praised. If disappointment, and even failure, sometimes attended their efforts, their accomplishment was nevertheless solid and striking."

The Indian troops fought with heroic endurance not only in France but also in Egypt, at Aden, on the Suez canal, in Galipoli, in East Africa, in West Africa and in Mesopotamia. They were the first of the overseas troops to face the Germans in France. They furnished the first bulwark of British East Africa. They flung back the first Turkish attack on the Suez canal. Nearly five hundred thousand

men left India to take part in one theatre of war or another though before the war the whole Indian army only amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand men

The admirable work done by the Imperial Service troops and the timely service rendered by the Indian princes, evoked much gratitude on the part of the British nation.

The rulers of the Native States in India, numbering nearly seven hundred in all, rallied with one accord to the defence of the empire and offered their personal services and the resources of their States for the war. From among the many princes and nobles who volunteered for active service, the Viceroy selected the Chiefs of Jodhpur, Bikanir, Kishangarh, Ratlam, Sachin, Patiala, Sir Pratapsingh, regent of Jodhpur, the Heir Apparent of Bhopal, and a brother of the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar, together with other cadets of noble families. The veteran Sir Pratap Singh would not be denied his right to render personal service in the war in spite of his seventy years, and his nephew, the Maharaja who was but sixteen years old also went with him. Various Durbars combined together to provide a Hospital Ship for the use of the expeditionary forces. The Maharaja of Mysore was the first to place a large sum of money at the disposal of the Government of India for expenditure in connection with the Expeditionary Force. The Mysore and Patiala Lancers and the Bikanir Camel Corps served in Egypt. The Jodhpur Lancers did good work in France. The Kashmir Rifles, the Jhind Infantry, and the Faridkot Sappers, were specially praised by General Smuts in East Africa. The Maler

Kotla Sappers proved themselves specially valuable where engineering work was needed. In November 1915, when the Indian troops left France, Field-Marshal Sir John French sent a message of thanks to them, in which he complimented them on their most praiseworthy courage shown under novel and trying conditions, both of climate and of fighting, and on their having not only upheld but having added to the good name of the army which they represented. His Majesty the King-Emperor also sent a message in which he said that the Indian troops left France with a just pride in honourable deeds and with his assured confidence in their proved valour and experience, in other fields of action.

In illustration of these compliments, a few deeds of individual heroism may now be given. Sepoy Khudadad Khan was the first Indian soldier to receive the great honour of the Victoria Cross for very conspicuous bravery, shown in the famous First Battle of Ypres, the first serious engagement in which Indian troops fought in the war. About midnight on the first November, Colonel Southey received a message from the General Officer Commanding the third Cavalry Brigade, that a farm which was held by Major Potter with part of No. 4 Company had been taken by the enemy. It appeared that a small body of Germans had advanced on the farm and the Indian troops not well versed in the difference in appearance between French and Germans, believed that they were French. Fire was consequently not opened until the Germans were practically in the Farm. Captain Dill was in command of the Machine-guns. When one gun was put out of action, he ordered the men to retire.

He then continued to fire the other gun until he was severely wounded in the head by a shell. His men remained in action until they were rushed by the enemy in overpowering numbers, and all died fighting to the last, except Sepoy Khudadad Khan, who, although grievously wounded and left by the enemy for dead, managed to crawl away and escaped with his life, for which act of bravery, he was awarded the Victoria Cross. While the Ypres battle was taking place a stirring incident may be mentioned in another part of the Field. A company of the 34th Pioneers under Captain Bailey had taken over an advanced post from the French and it was attacked within an hour of its relieving the French, and during the night Captain Bailey was wounded severely. The defence was very ably carried on by Subedars, Sher Singh and Natha Singh. Subedar Sher Singh received the Indian Distinguished Service Medal for his gallant leadership. This relief was the first experience by Indian troops of the difficulties of moving at night across unknown country, cut up by wire entanglements and deep ditches full of water and mud. The men were, moreover, under fire for a great part of the time, and had much difficulty in finding the French trenches.

On the 27th October 1915 a desperate hand-to-hand fighting took place for the possession of the village of Neuve Chapelle. In spite of vigorous counter attacks, the Germans could not be forced back and at this juncture heavy German reinforcements were brought up. Lieutenants Nosworthy and Raitkerr of the 20th Company Sappers and Miners found themselves in the centre of the village, with only about

twenty men left. Speedy reinforcement was necessary, so Lieutenant Raitkerr volunteered to go back over the bullet-swept open, to try and bring up more men, but he was hit before he had gone two hundred yards. Sapper Dalip Singh ran to his officer's assistance and helped him under cover. He then stood over him and kept off several parties of Germans by his fire. On one occasion — a fact almost incredible, though well-established — he was attacked by as many as twenty of the enemy, but beat them off, and got Lieutenant Raitkerr away. This officer's indomitable spirit is shown by the fact that when Lieutenant Nosworthy eventually retired, he found him just recovering from the shock of his wound, but preparing to try and crawl back to the fight. For his signal act of bravery and devotion, Sapper Dalip Singh received the Second Class of the Indian Order of Merit.

At the action of Festburt, during the night of the 23rd November 1915, the enemy pushed up his sap or winding trench to within five yards of the trenches of the 34th Pioneers, and as dawn broke, he commenced a storm of hand-granades from his nearest sap-heads, with a special violence at the junction of the 34th and the company of Connaughts on their left, where a maxim of the 34th was in position. Subedar Natha Singh was near the machine-gun, round which bombs fell fast, killing a number of men. He at once took charge and held his position against the enemy, who had broken in, until he was eventually forced to retire. Havildar Nikka Singh, when all the men of the machine-gun team had been killed or wounded, carried the gun by

himself under a withering fire back to the support trenches. During the attack, the building in which the regimental Aid-post was established, came under heavy shell-fire, the house being repeatedly struck. Sub-Assistant Surgeon Harnam Singh and Havildar Pala Singh, who was the Hospital Havildar, removed all the wounded, the stretcher-bearers being away near the firing line, and carried them in safety along the road, which was being shelled.

On the 24th November, when clearing a position to which there was strenuous opposition on the part of the Germans Major Wardell's party had been much weakened by casualties and could do no more than hold the portion of the trench already taken. Foremost among many heroes in these operations was Naik Darwan Sing Negi who, from the beginning to the end, was either the first, or among the first, to force his way round each successive traverse, facing a hail of bombs and grenades. Although twice wounded in the head and once in the arm, he refused to give in, and continued fighting without even reporting that he was wounded. When the struggle was over and the company fell in, his company Commander saw that he was streaming with blood from head to foot. For his most conspicuous valour Naik Darwan Singh was awarded the Victoria Cross, being the second Indian soldier to receive this honour.

On one occasion, a party of the First King George's own Sappers and Miners was employed in making a mine-gallery towards a German Sap-Head, which was about thirty yards away. A charge had been placed in position and was being

tamped when the enemy began bombarding the place. A number of the men in the trench were killed or buried in debris. Havildar Sucha Singh of the Sappers was in charge of the work in the mine-shaft. He temporarily withdrew his party to assist in getting out those who had been buried. Having done this, he again went down the shaft to finish off the tamping and to complete the preparations for blowing up the mine, in spite of the fact that two trench-mortar bombs had fallen directly on the roof of the gallery breaking two of the supporting frames, and that his party was isolated as the British trench had been evacuated. Havildar Sucha Singh finished his work unperturbed and withdrew his men, afterwards receiving the Indian Distinguished Service Medal for his cool courage.

At the battle of Neuve Chappelle, a dramatic incident occurred. Rifleman Gane Gurang, observing that heavy fire was being kept up from a particular house, most gallantly entered it by himself, cowed into surrendering and got out single-handed eight Germans at the point of the bayonet. At this moment the Second Rifle Brigade came on the scene and on seeing the little Gurkha driving eight burly Germans out of the house, gave him three ringing cheers. At this battle, during the attack a very gallant act was performed by Naik Khan Zaman of the 32nd Lahore Divisional Signal Company. The cable from the front to Divisional Headquarters was continually being cut. Naik Khan Zaman went back along the line repairing it in many places. He was out for three and half hours under very heavy shell-fire, and had twice to cross a zone of four hundred yards which was

swept by rifle fire as well. By a miracle he escaped unwounded, and was awarded the Indian Distinguished Service Medal.

At the Second Battle of Ypres, when the Indian troops had reached a point near a farm at a distance of about three hundred yards from the German trenches, it was found that communications had been cut by the enemy's fire and great difficulty was experienced in sending back reports. Sepoy Raju Khan earned the Indian Order of Merit by his bravery in carrying an urgent message under heavy shell and rifle fire. A shell burst only about three yards from him, during his progress, wounding and almost putting him out of action, but he managed to struggle on and delivered the message.

The story of the adventures of Naik Ayub Khan, 109th Beluchee is unique in the histories of the war. At the battle of Festubert, on the night of the 21st June 1915, he was ordered to go out with a patrol between the lines. Ayub Khan, on nearing the German wire, made up his mind to visit the enemy in his trench, and to pick up whatever useful information he could obtain. He concealed his rifle and ammunition, and then, taking his life in both hands, boldly walked up to the wire where he stood calling out "Mussalman." For a moment his life hung in the balance, but a German officer came up and called him to come in, which he did. Ayub Khan was conducted along the trench to behind the lines, and eventually found himself at the Head Quarters of a German Division. Here he was taken before the General and was closely interrogated, amongst other matters, about

the British troops in that portion of the line. To unimportant questions, Ayub Khan sometimes replied correctly ; in other cases, while giving a general appearance of truth to his answers, he nullified their value while supplying incorrect details. The Germans talked about the supposed disaffection in India and impressed on Ayub Khan that it was very wrong of Mussalmans to fight against the friends of Turkey. Ayub Khan was asked whether a large number of men were willing to desert as he had done. To these questions he returned a vigorous affirmative and offered to bring back with him at least twenty men for which he was promised a handsome reward. He remained at the Head Quarters throughout the 22nd June and many men came to see him, and he kept a careful note in his mind of the numbers on shoulders, the various kinds of uniform, etc., details which were of considerable value to the Intelligence Branch of the British army. On the night of the 23rd, he was taken back to the spot at which he had entered the German lines and was there released. At 11-30 P.M. on the 23rd June, Ayub Khan arrived at the British Quarters, none the worse for his experiences, bringing with him his rifle and ammunition. His story was an extraordinary one, but all doubts regarding its veracity were removed by corroborative evidence obtained from other sources.

In the battle of Loos, on the 24th September 1915, during an attack on the enemy, deeds which could hardly be surpassed for sheer bravery and self-sacrifice were performed by Rifle-man Kulbir Thapa. He succeeded, after being wounded, in penetrating the German wire entanglements

in some extraordinary way and charged straight through-out the German Trench. In rear of it, he found a badly injured man of the Second Leicesters. The wounded man begged Kulbir Thapa to leave him and save himself, but the Gurkha refused to do so, and remained by his side through-out the day and the following night. Luckily, there was a heavy mist on the morning of the 26th September, of which Kulbir took advantage to bring the man out through the German wire. He succeeded, after hair-breadth escapes, in doing this unobserved, and put the wounded man in a shell-hole. Not content with this, he returned and rescued, one after the other, two Gurkhas. He then went back again and brought in the British soldier in broad day light, carrying him most of the way under fire. For these successive acts of valour, Kulbir received the Victoria Cross.

56. Mysore heroism in the recent German War.

It needs scarcely be mentioned what great havoc the great German war has caused in the life and prosperity of the nations inhabiting all parts of the earth and what time and labour it must take to repair this havoc. If, however, it is permissible to say that every cloud has a silver lining, it must be acknowledged that India has emerged with greater prestige and higher international status than she possessed before. For the first time in her history, as has been mentioned in the previous section, the Indian troops conveyed to France, stood face to face with an unscrupulous and highly organized European enemy and successfully joined

issue with them in their own continent. The troops of Native States who had, on account of the establishment of peace in India, had come to be looked upon as fit only for pompous parades and ceremonial shows, quickly proved their mettle when they were given the opportunity of being engaged in actual warfare. Among the latter troops, the Mysore Section acknowledgedly proved themselves of great service and won high encomiums for their dash and daring.

The Mysore Cavalry was originally raised from the ruins of Tipu's Cavalry after the events of 1799. The force was at one time on field service in Maratta country at the battles of Assaye and Argaum, under the command of Major-General Wellesley, England's greatest General and elicited his warm approbation in respect of bravery, willingness and orderly behaviour. With characteristic foresight, His Highness the late Maharaja, Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, G. C. S. I., of revered memory, offered in 1887 to maintain for the military defence of the Empire a suitable military force in a condition of thorough efficiency and ready always for active service side by side with the regular British army. In making this offer, His Highness had no doubt been actuated by the knowledge that the famous Bedars of Haidar and the Mysore Horse of History were all drawn from warlike classes indigenous to the Mysore country. Long years of profound peace had not extinguished the martial spirit of these classes and their deeds of valour were always remembered with feelings of just pride in every part of the State. The offer made by the late Maharaja was gratefully accepted by the Imperial Government and

from 1st April 1892, the Mysore Imperial Service Regiment was constituted into a District Regiment, thoroughly equipped in every way similar to the British Indian Cavalry

The Regiment got its first opportunity for field service in September 1914. In August 1914 His Highness the present Maharaja in a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy said—“This is a time, I feel, at which the Feudatory States and all subjects of British Empire should stand shoulder to shoulder for her defence, and I desire to assure your Excellency, in all sincerity, of the devotion and loyalty of my people and our readiness to make every sacrifice to protect our common interests My troops are ready, and should money be required, I hereby place at Your Excellency's disposal a sum of fifty lakhs as my contribution towards the cost of Indian War Fund.” The gift of fifty lakhs created a profound impression all over India and England. At the Imperial Legislative Council Meeting held on 9th September 1914, His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, remarked that he could not sufficiently commend the striking and patriotic offer made by His Highness the Maharaja, whose loyalty, generosity and liberal views were so well known. The Marquess of Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India, speaking in the House of Lords a little earlier referred in highly appreciative terms to the splendid offer made by His Highness. In April 1918 His Highness made a further gift of ten lakhs for war purposes and also contributed thirty lakhs towards the War Loan. In June 1918 His Highness issued a stirring message to his

subjects calling upon them to join the army in larger numbers and contribute liberally to the War Loan.

A fund called The Mysore Imperial Service Troops' War Fund was also started under the distinguished patronage of His Highness the Maharaja with a view to provide the Mysore Imperial Service Troops at the front with articles of comfort and also to relieve want and distrust amongst the members of their family. The idea emanated from His Highness the Yuvaraja who took very keen interest in it as President and Honorary Treasurer. Early in October 1915 His Highness the Yuvaraja issued an appeal referring to the innumerable hardships, on account of the high prices of all supplies and the absence of many of the comforts and necessities which the Mysore Troops were accustomed to in India, serving as they did in a foreign land and among a strange people, and living under camp conditions and called upon everyone who had a heart in him and could appreciate the bravery of the men and the depth of their sacrifice, to subscribe to the fund according to his means. Subscriptions poured in freely and the amounts were utilized for providing comforts to the men in the field and for granting relief to their families left behind.

As an encouragement to the men at the front, a spirited message conveying the best wishes of His Highness the Maharaja, the Royal family, and the Public of Mysore was printed and copies were sent for distribution among all officers, men and followers at the front. The message ran as follows: "At this hour of supreme struggle of the British Empire and its Allies, you enjoy the great honour of forming

a part, however small, of the magnificent army which is fighting for the cause of Liberty and Righteousness. We have heard with keen pleasure and pride of your heroic conduct in the field and of your brilliant successes. We have no doubt that whatever the duty assigned to you, you will do it in such a way as will add fresh lustre to the history of the country and uphold the high traditions of Mysore for loyalty and devotion to the Crown of England.

"Day by day and minute by minute, you are present in our thoughts and our prayers. Those dear to you, whom you have left behind, are our sacred charge until you return victorious. Remember always in whatever you do that the fair name and honour of Mysore are in your keeping and that, to an Indian, honour is dearer and far more precious than life. Have firm faith in Providence and in the justness of our cause and by the grace of Almighty God you shall be safe and successful."

Turning now to the operations of the Mysore Imperial Service Troops at the front, it may be premised by saying that this regiment consisting of officers and men together with a number of horses, mules and followers left Bangalore on 13th October 1914 under the command of Regimentdar B. Chamaraja Urs, Bahadur (now Lieutenant-Colonel Sirdar Bahadur). Major M. H. Henderson accompanied the regiment as Special Service Officer and Colonel J. Desaraja Urs, C. I. E., M. V. O., as the representative of the Durbar. The British Resident congratulated the Durbar on the readiness with which this regiment prepared itself for active service and the enthusiasm with which the news of the mobilization

order was received by all ranks of the Lancers as well as in Mysore generally

Subsequently the mobilization of the Mysore Transport Corps was also ordered and six troops of the Corps consisting of a number of officers and men and followers with carts, bullocks, mules and ponies under the command of Mr. Furzulla Khan left Bangalore in September 1916

The Imperial Service Regiment had three engagements with the enemy in the Suez Canal Zone in November 1915 and it took part in the attack on Gaza in Palestine in November 1917. They did excellent work both in the battle of Gaza and subsequent pursuit. In the latter half of 1918, the regiment was placed in the firing line and in the last action of Aleppo on 26th October 1918, the regiment suffered serious casualties. In addition to the excellent work carried out by them in active operations against enemy outposts, they were also employed on the arduous task of constructing strong field works for the defence of the Suez Canal and in guarding important and valuable points in the lines of communications. In every case they carried out the tasks allotted to them to the entire satisfaction of General Sir John Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief, Egyptian Expeditionary Force, as was reported by him to the Commander-in-Chief in India. In the victory of Gaza and subsequent pursuit of the enemy, the Mysore Lancers were often under heavy fire. "I did not see" wrote Major C. R. Harbard "a single instance of shirking or alarm. In fact, they acquitted themselves as old and tried soldiers should, and made me proud to command them." In December 1917, the Commander-in-Chief

of the army in Palestine on the completion of the operations resulting in the capture of Beersheba and Gaza specially commended the good work done by the Mysore Lancers. In a despatch from General Sir Edmund Allenby, dated the 31st October 1918, dealing with the operations which resulted in the destruction of the Turkish army, the liberation of Palestine and Syria and the occupation of Damascus and Aleppo, special reference was made to the work of the Mysore Lancers in the field. Dealing with the capture of Haifa General Allenby stated that two miles from the Haifa, Rhode, in the passes between the spur of Mount Carmel on the left and the marshy banks of River Kishon, on the right, the fifth Cavalry Division, reaching this point on the 23rd September, was shelled from the slopes of Mount Carmel and found the Rhode and the river crossings defended by numerous machine guns. Whilst Mysore Lancers cleared the rocky slopes of Mount Carmel, the Jodhpur Lancers charged through the defile, and riding over the enemy machine guns, galloped into the town, where a number of Turks were speared in the streets and a large number of prisoners were taken.

The Mysore Imperial Service Transport Corps which was sent to Mesopotamia for active service turned out much useful work. Landing at Basra early in October 1916, they were at first employed on convoy work on the lines of communication. The Corps was subsequently concentrated for work at Shaik Saad and beyond, and early in 1917, was employed in clearing the battle fields of Sanniya and Hai. The Corps was unfortunate in losing their Commandant

Furzulla Khan, who died in hospital in July 1917. To this officer was due, to no small extent, the undoubted efficiency of the Transport Corps

Where all acquitted themselves with distinguished gallantry, it is difficult to make a selection of individual heroes. However a few names may be mentioned. Commandant A T Thyagaraj of the Transport Corps was specially mentioned in the despatches for gallantry and devotion to duty, and was awarded the title of 'Captain' by His Highness the Maharaja Jamadar Abdul Gaffar Khan of the Imperial Lancers while serving in Egypt showed great coolness and gallantry under very heavy fire while leading on the 26th October 1918, his squadron in a charge against a strongly held enemy position. He rallied his squadron after his British Officer had been killed and continued in action though the squadron had suffered heavy casualties.

Risaldar A. Lingaraja Urs was a young hero who was killed in action at Aleppo on the 26th October 1918 during the final phase of the operations in Palestine. On a previous occasion this hero did a daring feat. On the 23rd November 1915, a squadron of the Mysore Lancers operating fifteen miles east of Cantarah, obtained touch with a force of sixty Turks on camels, the advance guard of a riding party two hundred strong. These were pursued for seven miles with the result that seven were killed, twelve were captured and many others wounded. Amongst the dead was the famous Bedouin leader Rizkalla Salim, who had been responsible for most of the attempted raids on the Canal. He was killed after a hand-to-hand fight by Lingaraja Urs

who was awarded the Indian Order of Merit for this act of gallantry. The significance of the gallant deed done by Lingaraja Urs lay in the fact that after the Bedouin leader's death, the attempts on the Canal entirely ceased.

Risaldar Subbaraja Urs was another young hero whose gallantry was rewarded by the grant of the Indian Distinguished Service Medal. During an attack, on the Ferry-post, Ismahia, on 2nd February 1915, the patrol was commanded by Subbaraja Urs. The patrol came suddenly upon the enemy who were entrenched, and advanced close to them mistaking them for their own men. The enemy immediately opened fire, and the patrol had to retire from the enemy's entrenchments under a heavy fire. Sowar Ram Singh of the Bhavanagar Lancers had the misfortune to have his horse hit in the leg with the result that the horse fell and the rider also over the horse's head. Subbaraja Urs who was some fifty yards in front of the Sowar at the time had his attention called to the mishap. He immediately returned to the place where Ram Singh had fallen, took him on his own horse and galloped with him for a distance of about four hundred yards till they were behind a hill. He returned to India in February 1920 and in the following month was appointed Commandant of the Imperial Service Lancers.

Risaldar B. P. Krishna Urs is yet another young hero whose heroism is entitled to all honour. He left for active service with his regiment in 1914. He greatly distinguished himself in meeting the attack of the Turks on the Suez Canal in 1915, when with about forty men, he captured eighty camels and took forty Turks as prisoners along with

much booty. In the beginning of 1916, he joined the Staff of General Archibald Murray and served on it for nine months, during which time Krishna Urs had the opportunity of meeting His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and accompanying him on his visits to various camps. In 1917, he followed the regiment in its march from Suez to Gaza, where he was sent to gain experience in Trench Warfare. In an action on the 26th October 1918, in the Suez Canal Zone, Krishna Urs showed great gallantry while leading his squadron in a charge against a strongly held enemy position under very heavy fire. He was severely wounded in the hand and chest, but continued to lead his squadron until exhaustion compelled him to fall out. His splendid example inspired all ranks. He was awarded the Military Cross by the British Government, the title of "Captain" by His Highness the Maharaja, and the White Eagle of Serbia, Fifth class, by His Majesty the King of Serbia.

Mir Turab Ali is another hero who has risen to his present position of Risaldar by his military prowess. He enlisted himself as a Sowar in the Imperial Service Lancers in the year 1903, when he was about eighteen years old. Turab Ali's intelligence and energy gave him opportunities to secure rapidly higher and higher positions and he left for active service to Egypt in October 1914. On arrival, he was detailed to undergo Machine-gun training and scarcely had he been a week old at this course, before his skill was put to the proof during an attack on a Turkish redoubt at Bel-el-Mahadat. By the time Turab Ali fired three hundred rounds out of his Machine-gun, the gun got jammed, but

the fire was so effective, that such of the defenders as did not fall, hastily retreated. Turab Ali got his commission as Jamadar in January 1915 and was placed in charge of a Machine-gun section, and he was ever present with his section in every engagement in which his regiment took part and he specially distinguished himself in the attack upon Gaza. He was for sometime appointed Instructor of the 15th Machine-guns Squadron and he trained and made ready for the field two Sub-Sections of the Bikanir Camel Corps and Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers. Turab Ali accompanied the Imperial Service Cavalry Brigade to Jericho and took part in several engagements, his name being mentioned in the Dispatches, for gallantry and devotion to duty. Turab Ali also took a conspicuous part in the capture of Haiba. Under a heavy fire of Machine-gun and artillery he led an attack upon a hillock capturing a Turkish Officer, four Machine-guns and other booty. One of these guns was brought to India by the regiment as a war trophy. For these distinguished services, Turab Ali was awarded the Indian Order of Merit, Second class, by the British Government and His Highness the Maharaja promoted him to the position of Risaldar.

Of Sirdar Bahadur B. Chamaraja Urs, mention has already been made, as having left for Egypt in October 1914 in command of the Mysore Imperial Service Lancers. His Military career began in March 1890 as Jamadar, Local Service Regiment. He rapidly rose from position to position and in May 1905 was permanently appointed Commandant of the Imperial Service Troops. He was presented with valuable

khillaths by His Highness the Maharaja in open Durbar in recognition of his services, in connection with the visit of T. R. H. the Prince and Princess of Wales, in 1906. Relating to his services in Egypt, Major-General W. A. Watson, C. B., C. I. E., Commanding Line of Communication Defences, writing to Chamaraja Urs on the 27th March 1916, said,—“From the moment when the Brigade was concentrated at Deolali, seventeen months ago, it was evident to me that your regiment was imbued with a splendid military spirit, and it was clear that your own character and influence was the cause. You have maintained that spirit ever since. You have never hesitated to enforce discipline or feared to inflict punishment, and the result has been that your men have reached a high standard of efficiency. They have behaved admirably, sometimes under trying circumstances, both in the camp and in the field. Their success in the action at Bel-el-Jafir, on the 23rd November 1915, must have been a great satisfaction to you. I congratulate you on being Commander of the Regiment of which you may justly feel proud.” Chamaraja Urs was present in the action around Gaza in Palestine in November 1917 and showed remarkable bravery and steadiness in leading the men under his command during the attack which ultimately ended in victory. On the 7th February 1918, Brigadier-General C. R. Harbard, Commanding Imperial Service Cavalry Brigade, in writing to the Inspector-General, Imperial Service Troops in India, said, “Regimentdar B. Chamaraja Urs, Sirdar Bahadur, having been ordered to return to India, I feel that I cannot let him vacate the command of the Mysore Lancers in the field, without placing on record my appreciation of

the services this officer has rendered, which I trust may be brought to the notice of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. A strict disciplinarian and possessing a strong innate sense of justice, Chamaraja Urs has always maintained the right spirit in his men and by his personal example has taught them to undertake any duty, however monotonous and irksome it may have been, with cheerfulness and alacrity. The British officers who have been connected with the regiment since it came on service, have all remarked upon the nice tone that prevailed in the regiment, and what a pleasure it was to work with them. I attribute this tone in a large measure to the influence of Chamaraja Urs. Instead of resenting the presence of Special Service Officers, he has always shown himself grateful for their assistance, and the good name that the Mysore Lancers have won for themselves during their stay in Egypt, is largely due to the good relations that have always existed between the Special Service officers and the Commanding Officer, and through him, with the other officers of the regiment."

On return to India, he was appointed Chief Commandant in July 1919. For his distinguished military services, he was appointed to the Order of British India in June 1916. His Highness the Maharaja honoured him with the First Class Medal of the Gandabherunda Order and the position of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Mysore Army. He also received the Foreign Decoration of the White Eagle of Serbia from His Majesty the King of Serbia.

Last but not least comes the honoured name of Col. Desaraj Urs, who, as has already been stated, went to Egypt

as the Representative of the Durbar, and whose military renown is cherished with pride by the people of Mysore. As a testimony to his innate military instincts, it may be stated that he preferred service in the Military Department at a time when those employed in it were regarded as mere carpet-knights. He was appointed Attache in the Mysore Military Department in August 1884. After a short period of service, his fighting instincts got the better of him, and resigning the State Service in June 1885, joined the British Military Department as Jamadar, 3rd Madras Light Cavalry. He soon obtained an opportunity for active service. From September 1886 to October 1887, he was in the field in Burma during the Burmese war which resulted in the capture of King Thebaw and the annexation to India of his country. On 14th December 1887, his services were lent to the Mysore State by the Madras Government, when he was appointed Assistant to the Military Secretary and Aid-de-Camp to His Highness the Maharaja. In December 1890, he resigned the Madras Service and was appointed Commandant, Imperial Service Regiment, in March 1894, and in Aug. 1897 he rose to the responsible position of Chief Commandant, Mysore State Troops, which he held continuously for a period of about twenty-two years.

From October 1914 to January 1916, he served in Egypt during the Great European War and his name was mentioned in the dispatches of General Maxwell, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Egypt. In August 1917, in appreciation of the services rendered by him during the war, His Majesty the King-Emperor awarded him the honorary

rank of Lt-Col in the British Army and in June 1918, His Highness the Maharaja decorated him with a First Class Medal of the Gandabherunda Order. Previous to the war, he had earned a number of decorations, but they need not be mentioned here. It is sufficient to say that, though Col Desaraja Urs has retired from Military service and though he may be said to belong to an older generation which has ceased to actively influence public affairs, yet like Cincinnatus of the old Roman days, he will if necessary ever be ready to obey the public call for duty and coming out from his retirement will lead his beloved troops once more to victory.

Before concluding this account of the Military heroism of Mysore, the appreciation expressed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the banquet given by His Highness the Maharaja, during the Prince's recent visit to Mysore in January 1922 may be quoted—"In October 1914, Your Highness's Imperial Service Lancers sailed from India for Egypt. They fought in Egypt, where I had the pleasure of seeing them in 1916, and subsequently took part in a two years' desert campaign, which ended in the capture of Gaza and the fall of Jerusalem. In both the latter engagements they played a brilliant part. They then joined the famous 15th Cavalry Brigade and were active in the advance in the Jordan Valley and the final series of engagements which broke down the Turkish resistance and carried our arms into Syria. They distinguished themselves at Haifa, where they drove the enemy from strong positions on Mount Carmel, capturing seven guns and three hundred prisoners. At the final action at Aleppo, they were again to the fore.

with a fine charge against heavy odds, in which they suffered severe casualties. They only returned to India in February 1920. The honours and decorations won by the Corps and the frequent mention of the officers and men in dispatches, bear eloquent testimony to their courage and efficiency and to the excellent spirit and tone which prevailed in the regiment.

“The Imperial Service Transport Corps proceeded to Mesopotamia in 1916 and continued on active service till the end of the war. It won the highest commendations from the General Officer Commanding in Mesopotamia. All praise is due to this gallant Corps and to the officers who helped them to deserve and win their high reputation. In addition to keeping those units up to their full strength, 5,000 of Your Highness’s subjects enlisted in units of the Indian Army.

“When I turn to the more prosaic, but equally important, question of the ways and means for the War, I find that the assistance given by the Mysore State has been of an equally high order. At the outbreak of the war, Your Highness offered Rs. 50 lakhs towards the cost of our Expeditionary Forces. You added a further gift of Rs. 10 lakhs, and later another gift of Rs. 13 lakhs. Your State subscribed Rs. 14 lakhs to the Imperial Relief Fund and invested Rs. 105 lakhs in the War Loans. The people of your State gave Rs. 2 lakhs to the War charities and invested Rs. 113 lakhs in the War Loans.

“The contributions from Your Highness’s State and subjects reached a total of nearly Rs. 2 crores. Besides this,

the State was prominent in the supply of hides, timber, blankets and other material necessary for the efficiency of our arms

“The War record of Your Highness’s State is, indeed, a notable one, and it is a great privilege to me to be able to offer my thanks and congratulations in person to-night to Your Highness on these achievements.”

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